DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 298 052 SO 019 257

AUTHOR	Rutkowski, Edward, Ed.
TITLE	Papers and Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Midwest History of Education Society (23rd, Chicago, Illinois, November 5-7, 1987).
INSTITUTION	Midwest History of Education Society, Cedar Falls, IA.
PUB DATE	88
NOTE	233p.; For related documents, see SO 019 242-256.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021) -- Collected Works - Serials (022)
JOURNAL CIT	Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society; v16 1988
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC10 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Literacy; College Curriculum; Deafness; *Educational History; Educational Philosophy; Ethnic Studies; Government School Relationship; Historiography; Law Schools; *Progressive Education; Religious Education; Single Sex Colleges; Social Change; Student Attrition; *Teacher Education Programs; Urban Studies; Womens Education
IDENTIFIERS	Depression (Economic 1929); Normal Schools

ABSTRACT

Presented in four parts, part 1 of these conference papers discusses the controversy over Michael Katz's analysis of votes in Beverly, Massachusetts; Cora Wilson Stewart's crusade for literacy in Kentucky; and the debate over deaf education between Edward Miner Gallaudet and Alexander Graham Bell. The titles are: "What the Katz/Vinovskis Debate Tells Us about the Limits of Quantitative History" (Angus); "The Dream of a Common Language" (Estes); and "The Oral-Manual Debate in Deaf Education" (Reagan). The four papers in part 2 discuss women's colleges in Delaware, New Jersey, and Rhode Island; Lester Frank Ward's educational program; the influences of Herbartianism; and the legislative reforms for education based on the Harper Report of Chicago. The titles are: "Women's Co-ordinate Colleges Amid Male Supremacy" (Taggart); "A Note Concerning Lester Frank Ward and Progressive Education" (Rutkowski); "U.S. Herbartianism at the State and Local Level" (Berry); and "Attempting School Reform in Turn of the Century Chicago" (Ginsberg). Part 3 discusses Iowa's teacher education program 100 years ago and today, the evolution of normal schools' curriculum, and the history of Litchfield (Connecticut) Law School. The titles are: "Assessing the Knowledge, Skills, and Professional Attitudes of New Teachers in Iowa, 1878-1887 and 1978-1987" (Kniker); "The Evolution of Teacher Training" (Scatena); and "The Origin of Professional Education" (Handler and Handler). In part 4, four papers discuss the comparison of grade attainment and ethnicity in Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania), curricular efforts and social reconstructionism during the Depression, the failure of the American Association for Adult Education, and the evangelical messages in the "Young People's Weekly". The titles are: "The Educational Experiences of Ethnic and American Students in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1911-1928" (Martin and Bickel); "Radical Politics" (James); "The Anti-Profession Profession" (Rose); and "The School in a Newspaper" (Townsend). The program and business meeting's minutes are included. (DJC)

ED298052

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

Volume 16, 1988

Papers and proceedings of the 23rd meeting

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

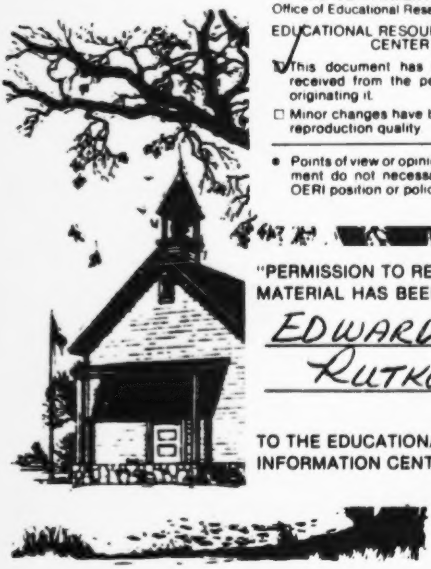
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

[illegible]

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
EDWARD RUTKOWSKI
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."



SO019257

Published by the
Department of Educational Psychology
and Foundations
College of Education,
University of Northern Iowa

Distributed and Published for the Society by the
Department of Educational Psychology and Foundations,
College of Education, University of Northern Iowa,
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Copyright 1988 by the
Midwest History
of Education Society

Edited by
Edward Rutkowski

Any subscriptions or inquiries should be sent to:

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society
Education Center, Room 513
University of Northern Iowa
Cedar Falls, Iowa 50614

Journal of the Midwest History of Education Society

Volume 16, 1988

Papers and proceedings of the 23rd meeting

Published by the
Department of Educational Psychology
and Foundations
College of Education,
University of Northern Iowa

CONTENTS

Part I
INQUIRY INTO HISTORICAL METHODS, LANGUAGES, AND LITERACY

What the Katz/Vinovskis Debate Tells Us About the Limits of Quantitative History
David L. Angus
University of Michigan 1

The Dream of a Common Language: Cora Wilson Stewart and the Politics of Literacy in Kentucky, 1911-1920
Florence Estes
University of Kentucky 10

The Oral-Manual Debate in Deaf Education: Language Policies in Conflict
Timothy Reagan
Central Connecticut State University 19

Part II
THE HISTORY OF EARLY PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Women's Co-ordinate Colleges Amid Male Supremacy: The Death of Delaware Women's College
Robert J. Taggart
University of Delaware 34

A Note Concerning Lester Frank Ward and Progressive Education
Ronald E. Rutkowski
Loyola University of Chicago 51

U.S. Herbartianism at the State and Local Level: A Study of Three Large Cities and Their Corresponding States (1895-1905)
David Berry
University of Michigan 61

Attempting School Reform in Turn of the Century Chicago: The Harper Report
Rick Ginsberg
University of South Carolina 81

Part III
EDUCATION OF PROFESSIONALS

Assessing the Knowledge, Skills, and Professional Attitudes of New Teachers in Iowa, 1878-1887 and 1978-1987
Charles R. Kniker
Iowa State University 99

The Evolution of Teacher Training: The Curriculum and Administrative Objectives Nationally and Within the Congregation of the Sisters of Sister Providence 1890-1920
Sister Maria Scatena, S.P.
Loyola University of Chicago 117

The Origin of Professional Education: The Case of the Litchfield Law School, 1784-1833
Bonnie S. Handler
Central Connecticut State University
Heidi L. Handler
University of Chicago 135

Part IV
HISTORY FROM THE INSIDE: CURRICULUM, TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND BUSINESS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The Educational Experiences of Ethnic and American Students in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1911-1928
Don T. Martin and William E. Bickel
University of Pittsburgh 149

Radical Politics: The Social Studies and the Reconstruction of America, 1932-1941
Michael James
California State University, Los Angeles 182

The Anti-Profession Profession: Adult Education in the 1920's
Amy D. Rose
Northern Illinois University 194

The School in a Newspaper: Young People's Weekly 1886-1948
Lucy F. Townsend
Northern Illinois University 207

Part V
PROGRAM AND PROCEEDINGS

Program 223

Minutes of the Business Meeting 227

Part I

INQUIRY INTO HISTORICAL METHODS, LANGUAGES, AND LITERACY

What the Katz/Vinovskis Debate Tells Us About the Limits of Quantitative History

David L. Angus
The University of Michigan

The publication, in 1968, of Michael Katz's dissertation, *The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts*, marked a watershed of the historiography of American education. As has been recounted many times, Katz's book triggered a wave of revisionist scholarship which soon overwhelmed what had been an earlier wave of revisionism centered on the ideas of Harvard's Bernard Bailyn and Lawrence Cremin of Columbia. This new revisionism took its shape from, on the one hand, Marxist social science perspectives, and, on the other, the rebellious anti-establishment spirit of its times.[1]

It is not my purpose here to argue that Katz was the **sole** author of this revisionist movement; but it is important to note that his charting of a radical departure was quite self-conscious — the book was, in its way, a manifesto. This is clear from its brief introduction in which Katz identifies two earlier interpretations of the origins of mass schooling, one a social conflict interpretation associated with the labor historian Frank Tracy Carlton, the other a consensus interpretation attributed to Cremin. He rejects these views, referring to them as "myths" and "clouds of sentiment" masking the most fundamental truth about the nation's schools. This truth, the book's central tenet, is that, from its very origins, common schooling was imposed upon a reluctant working class by emergent American industrial capitalists for the purpose of maintaining labor peace and acquiescence in a social order marked by gross inequalities. Laid out in bold fashion, this idea was adopted by scores of other historians and tested out on every period, every major development in the history of education in America.

What was Katz's powerful discovery that caught the interest of a whole generation of historians and that set a whole field on a new course? This is perhaps the most surprising thing of all, for it is clear today that the book's influence was grossly out of proportion to the significance of the events and personalities with which it dealt. The key piece of evidence for this radically new interpretive approach to American educational history was Katz's analysis of a single election held in the Massachusetts town of Beverly in 1860 on the question, "Should the Beverly high school be abolished?" Given the earlier interpretations that this book was meant to rebut, this was the wrong question asked about the wrong institution at the wrong time, in what was arguably the wrong city. But, given the national mood in the sixties, none of this mattered. Katz's analysis said the right thing to all the right people.

Following a tip from a fellow graduate student using the town archives of Beverly, Katz found that the town clerk had recorded the name and the vote of each person participating in the referendum vote on the high school. He was able to match these names to the manuscript census records of the town for 1860. This allowed him to determine, using two- and three-way cross-tabulation analysis, the social and economic characteristics of those voting in favor of or opposed to abolishing Beverly High School. What Katz felt he had discovered was that the town's working class and those with little or no property voted to abolish the high school while the wealthier and higher status occupational groups voted to retain it. When placed in the context of a bitter labor dispute in Beverly and against the background of the town's emergence as a major shoe manufacturing center, this finding countered the older, "sentimental" interpretations and, in Katz's view, justified their revision.

While considerable additional evidence to support the thesis was presented, the linchpin of the argument and perhaps the source of the book's appeal was this bit of statistical analysis. The use of quantitative methods was relatively new in history and entirely new in educational history. Few of the book's readers had the background or skills to make critical judgments of this part of the argument. The response of reviewers was mostly favorable [Borrowman 1969; Cohen 1969; Lauter 1969; Welter 1969], but even those who criticized it severely saw it as an important book and accepted the statistical analysis largely at face value [Harris 1969; Scott 1970; Urban 1971]. Neil Harris thought the analysis of the vote did not bear the weight of interpretation that Katz placed on it, but he found the overall argument of the book to be unconvincing mostly for other reasons [Harris 1969]. David Scott castigated Katz for ". . . the hyperrationality he imposes on the past, the abstract nature of his argument, and his reduction of thought to a simplistic mechanism," but he had nothing to say about the statistical evidence [Scott 1969, 250]. Wayne Urban thought that Katz's case was well made for Beverly — that the weaknesses of the argument emerged when Katz attempted to extend the interpretation to Groton and Lawrence [Urban 1972, 5-6]. All in all, quantitative evidence stood the test of the initial round of criticism.

The book came under much more scathing attack in 1977, when Diane Ravitch reviewed ten major radical revisionist works under the title, *The Revisionists Revised: Studies in the Historiography of American Education* [1977]. Acknowledging Katz's centrality to the movement, Ravitch applauded his range and his insight; yet, on the whole, she saw the book as badly flawed, and she focused considerable attention on Katz's interpretation of the vote on the high school. Specifically, she called attention to three problems: first, she suggested that the data leant itself to a much simpler explanation than that offered by Katz, namely that those with no children of high school age and those who lived in outlying districts acted out of self-interest to abolish the high school; secondly, she noted that the town's businessmen were roughly evenly split on the question, where Katz had said that "a significant majority" of them had supported the high school; thirdly, she observed that while Katz was correct in identifying the striking shoe workers as voting strongly for abolishing the high school, he failed to note that their employers, the shoe manufacturers, also voted to abolish, 9 to 5 [Ravitch 1977, 35-42]. Here, then, was a critic who, though not especially skilled in statistical methods, recognized that at the very heart of the book, and thus at the very heart of the revisionist movement, was what seemed to her to be a fatal flaw. When Katz responded to Ravitch's critique some time later, he chose to focus on the notion that she had been "commissioned" by the National Academy of Education to attack the radical revisionist movement, which he characterized as a beleagured minority, as voices in the wilderness.

This is where the situation stood in 1982, when Maris Vinovskis approached the National Institute of Education for a grant to go to Beverly, Massachusetts for the purpose of "redoing" Katz's Beverly study. NIE apparently were impressed with Vinovskis's argument that revisionist scholarship was influential in shaping educational policy in the seventies and eighties, that Katz's book was central to the revisionist movement, and that basic to the argument of the book was a segment of quantitative history which might prove to be badly flawed. Vinovskis, in his teaching, had often criticized the book on a variety of grounds, and in that context had noted that by contemporary canons of scholarship in quantitative history, some form of multi-variate analysis of the data on the Beverly high school vote would have to be done to justify a conclusion such as that drawn by Katz. It was reasonable to assume, then, that as Vinovskis prepared to spend the Summer of 1983 in Beverly, Massachusetts, what he had in mind was reconstructing the election and census data set from the original records so that a different, more sophisticated analysis might be carried out.

When he and I met for a chat shortly after his return in September, it was quickly obvious that his scope was much broader than this. He had gone over all the available primary source material that he saw as relevant to the total study of Beverly, examining the minutes of the town meetings of the preceding two decades, scouring the newspapers for clues to the ideas and attitudes of various groups, such as the shoe workers and the factory owners, pouring over church records in an attempt to establish the affiliations of town leaders and others participating in the vote, etc. His intent was nothing less than to do his own study of the Beverly High School episode on his own terms. Furthermore, he intended to bring to bear on the question a large data set which included information on the progress of schooling over the preceding twenty years, not only in Beverly, but in all of Essex County and its constituent towns.[2] He anticipated spending a second Summer in Beverly, with the aid of a Spencer Grant.

The results of this meticulous labor appeared in 1985 under the title, *The Origins of Public High Schools: A Reexamination of the Beverly High School Controversy*. In the totality of the work, the promised multivariate analysis of the high school referendum vote played a small, but nonetheless significant, part. For example, out of the book's 47 tables and charts only two deal directly with the question of who favored and who opposed the abolition of the high school. But in pointing this out, I am also suggesting just how thoroughly quantitative the book seems to be. Vinovskis's argument falls neatly into four segments, coterminous with the books four chapters, and each segment is more or less reliant on quantitative analysis.

In the first chapter, Vinovskis tries to show that a series of quantitative studies by various scholars have slowly reshaped our understanding of antebellum educational development and that careful attention to these studies will call into question a key tenet of revisionist scholarship, the linking of the rise of mass schooling with industrialization. No attention is given here to the circumstances of Beverly, except as these may be shaped generally by developments in Massachusetts and the nation. In chapter two, attention turns to Beverly, but not yet to the events of 1860. Vinovskis traces educational developments in Beverly, but also in Salem, in Essex County as a whole, and in Massachusetts as a whole, from 1840 to 1860 — patterns and trends in enrollment and attendance, taxation and expenditures, length of school terms, etc. At a still finer level of detail, he looks at the differences in these facors between the nine separate school districts within the town of Beverly, laying the basis for the chapter's contention that, over the long period prior to the vote on the Beverly High School, and despite a clear pattern of increasing public support for free, public common schools, the chief source of educational combativeness was the issue of unfairness in the **internal** distribution of resources and power.

In chapter three, the shortest and least quantitative of the chapters, Vinovskis traces the development of Massachusetts law on public high schools, the trends in compliance with that law on the parts of towns, and the events leading up to the defeat of a proposal to establish a high school in 1854, as the law required, and the eventual establishment of the high school in 1858. In the final chapter, the sequence of events leading directly to the March 14, 1860 vote is detailed and Vinovskis presents his long-awaited multivariate analysis of the voting patterns. His discussion of his findings consumes over twenty pages of the book, but the key differences with Katz are summarized in a paragraph.

> The most striking finding is that the two strongest predictive variables in this analysis, location of the voter's residence and the extent of their town office holding, do not figure in Katz's study. In addition, while the general predictive pattern ascertained by Katz for two of the most important variables, children in the household and occupation, continue to persist in this analysis, the relative strength of these variables as predictors of the outcome of the high school vote are considerably less than he suggested. . . . Furthermore, though Katz was correct in pointing to the divisions within the community to account for the disagreements over the high school, he exaggerated the extent of class conflict and seriously underestimated the importance of sectional divisions within the community and the anger felt by many voters toward the imposition of an expensive and seemingly unnecessary institution by a determined minority using the threat of a court indictment against the town (Vinovskis 1985, 107).

Here, then, is the heart of the Katz/Vinovskis debate. For Katz, the vote to abolish the Beverly High School was powerfully symptomatic of sharpening class conflict under early industrial capitalism and was itself an important instance of that conflict in that it revealed a very different alignment of attitudes toward popular education than that portrayed by earlier historians. For Vinovskis, the high school vote was not especially important, was certainly not a vote on "popular education," and represented but a single instance of a long series of conflicts between the more urbanized section of Beverly and the outlying districts over the distribution of educational resources and the control of educational policy.

Following the publication of Vinovskis's book, the issue was joined in two additional contexts. William Reese, review editor of the *History of Education Quarterly* saw an opportunity to sharpen the debate for his readers. He asked Katz and a "third party," Edward Stevens, to review Vinovskis's book and invited Vinovskis to write a rebuttal. In this exchange, Katz took the view that Vinovskis's reanalysis served more to confirm than to challenge his original interpretation. He said, "I find nothing in the book that contradicts my essential arguments, and I am left wondering why he tries so hard to distance himself from my interpretation by turning a series of modest adjustments into substantial differences" [Katz 1987, 242]. Aside from this tack of minimizing the distance between the two analyses, Katz chided Vinovskis for (1) failing to properly contextualize his work, providing no social or economic explanations for his finding of the importance of geography, and (2) posturing as a value-neutral social scientist when, as everyone knows, "politics cannot be divorced from scholarship."

In his rebuttal, Vinovskis was led, once again, to stress that to reorder the relative importance of the variables in an analysis of this sort is to fundamentally alter the interpretation of the meaning of the event. Almost in exasperation, he said,

> Given the additional information that now has been uncovered about the controversy over the Beverly High School as well as the MCA runs reported in my book, it is not surprising that my interpretation of events in that community might differ from Katz's original study. What is most surprising and unanticipated is that Katz continues to defend unequivocally his previous class explanation and especially his linkage of the shoe strike to the vote against the high school. Quite frankly, I simply do not think that he has sufficient evidence to warrant such an interpretation [Vinovskis 1987, 255].

In the final episode, the two met face-to-face on a panel in Washington D.C. last April. To those waiting to see either fireworks or some reconciliation or resolution of differences, the meeting was a disappointment. Katz spent much of his alloted time telling anecdotes about his student days at Harvard and how he came to do the study. In the face of this lightheartedness, Vinovskis came across as just a bit stuffy. No new, telling points were made on either side, both men reiterating the key ideas of their written exchange.

What then, does this long-running and inconclusive debate have to say about the limits of quantitative history? First, those who may have hoped that the use of quantitative methods in historical inquiry would settle some disputes in the field and narrow the range of others must surely be disappointed in the outcome of this debate. Here is a rare case in which two researchers, sharing the view that quantitative analysis is a useful tool, using for all practical purposes the same data set, basically agreeing on what is the appropriate analysis technique, willing, in other words, to study precisely the same printout, nevertheless disagree almost totally on what the analysis says about the historical event being analyzed. To this day, Katz believes that in the vote on the Beverly high school, class really mattered; Vinovskis believes it didn't account for much.

Where, exactly, do they part company? One clear difference has to do with what a multivariate analysis really measures. Katz poses the problem this way:

> The argument in favor of multivariate analysis that it enables one to sort out the relative influence of various factors on a dependent variable. Especially as applied to persons, multivariate analysis, when not used sensitively, can create arbitrary and meaningless distinctions because identity has multiple, overlapping, and inseparable components. Vinovskis found poor, working class men, often from the town's outlying districts, opposing the high school. Do his statistics automatically and irrefutably tell us that one factor alone dominated their vote? How would these voters have identified themselves? Would they, for instance, have separated out their income from their occupation from their residence and told an interviewer, "I really voted against the high school, not because I'm a mariner, but first, because I live in an outlying district and, second, because I'm poor?" (Katz 1987, 245-6)

This passage reveals an important misunderstanding of what multivariate analysis does. Katz is describing it as a way of sorting out multiple sources of **motive,** as they may exist in a single individual: this would, indeed, be a hazardous task with any statistical procedure. Keeping in mind that statistics is an elaboration on the mathematics of probability, Vinovskis's analysis should rather be thought of as a procedure to maximize the likelihood of correctly predicting the behavior, with respect to a single choice, of individuals making up a group. Suppose one knew that an election had been held and that two-thirds of the voters had voted "yes." Given the task of correctly predicting which individuals had voted "yes," and allowed to ask, say, three questions of each one with the results of a multivariate analysis in hand, what questions would one ask? It's a good bet that Katz's first question would always be, "what is your occupation?" It is also clear that to maximize the number of correct guesses, the first question ought to be, "where do you live?", the second question should be, "what is the value of your real and personal estate,?" etc. While this procedure won't tell you anything about **why** people voted as they did, it maximizes your chances of correctly predicting **how** they voted. This provides the empirical basis for an interpretation of the meaning of the event.

There is another difference between the two men that is perhaps even more important than this one. There is a profound difference in the ways these scholars have contextualized their analysis of the Beverly vote. Consider first the way Katz describes his own analysis.

> Most of the shoemakers and other working class voters cast their votes against the high school; professionals and businessmen more often supported it. The question is why? More precisely, to what extent was the vote a question of social class? My interpretation gave class a prominent place. . . . It sets the Beverly incident in the context of a detailed exposition of the arguments made for high schools; it also contains a case study of Groton, chosen to illustrate the importance of sectional tensions within towns and conflicts between private and public schools, and one of Lawrence, an especially clear example of the social role assigned to education in an industrializing city [Katz 1987, 242].

What is striking about this is its ahistoricism. For Katz, the vote is absolutely vital. It and it alone provides the empirical foundation for an interpretation — the working classes opposed educational extension, the middle and upper classes supported it. From that single vantage point, he ranges outward from Beverly — to Groton, to Lawrence, to Lynn — always looking to **illustrate** his central notion. One might visualize Katz's historical imagination as a flat disk with Beverly in the center and other Massachusetts towns ranged on its surface. But the disk is only one or two years "thick."

Contrast this with Vinovskis's approach to contextualizing the Beverly vote. First, he sketches in broad strokes antebellum educational developments in the states and nation. Next, he looks at schooling in

Massachusetts, Essex County, Beverly, and Salem for the two decades before 1860. Next, he considers differences in educational resources *between* the nine districts in the town of Beverly over a shorter period, stressing the *politics* of educational policy. Finally, he focuses on the high school question, considering the high school's origin, its abolition, and its reestablishment from 1854-1861. One can visualize this historiography as a series of concentric cylinders with their diameters representing their areal scope and level of detail, while their length represents the period of elapsed time. This construction creates a "nest of meaning" for Vinovskis's key contention that the high school vote was an episode in a time series of local disputes in which geography was strongly implicated.

Katz remains unmoved by this effort to place the vote in a historical sequence of related events. He says,

> . . . Vinovskis's account floats in a curious contextual vacuum, and his book lacks a systematic account of the town's economic development and a delineation of its social structure. Without a social and economic context, Vinovskis is unable to explain his major findings in a coherent way [Katz 1987, 243-4].

In the end, what most separates these two scholars is not a disagreement about data, or statistical procedures, or any of a hundred other arcane matters that two quantitative, "social science" historians might quarrel over, but something much more profound. They do not, and perhaps cannot, agree on what constitutes a "context," what does it mean to provide a "coherent explanation," what, in plain words, is the meaning of meaning. This is the gulf that separates them, and this does not appear to be bridgeable by quantitative historical methods.

Notes

[1] In an often overlooked preface, Katz says, "For the often partisan nature of my argument I offer no apologies; the crisis in our cities must arouse a passionate response in all those who care about the quality of American life."

[2] Those familiar with Vinovskis's earlier work will recognize that this Essex County data set has been in existence for quite some time and has served a variety of research purposes.

References

Borrowman, Merle L. 1969. Review of *The irony . . . American Historical Review* 74:1088-1089.

Cohen, Sheldon S. 1969. Review of *The irony . . . New England Quarterly* 42:291-292.

Harris, Neil. 1969. Review of *The irony . . . Harvard Educational Review* 39:385-389.

Katz, Michael. 1968. *The irony of early school reform: Educational innovation in mid-nineteenth century Massachusetts*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Katz, Michael. 1987. Forum: The origins of public high schools. *History of Education Quarterly* 27:241-247.

Lauter, Paul. 1969. The more things change . . . *Saturday Review* [April 19] 71-72.

Ravitch, Diane. 1977. The revisionists revised: Studies in the historiography of American education. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Education*. 4:1-84.

Scott, Donald M. 1970. The social history of education: Three alternatives. *History of Education Quarterly* 10:242-254.

Urban, Wayne J. 1972. A critique of Michael Katz, unpublished paper delivered at the Southern History of Education Society. Atlanta, Georgia. October.

Vinovskis, Maris A. 1985. *The origins of public high schools: A reexamination of the Beverly high school controversy*. Madison, Wis.: The University of Wisconsin Press.

Vinovskis, Maris A. 1987. Forum: The origins of public high schools. *History of Education Quarterly* 27:250-258.

Welter, Rush. 1969. Review of *The irony . . . Journal of American History* 55:867-8.

The Dream of a Common Language: Cora Wilson Stewart and the Politics of Literacy in Kentucky, 1911-1920

by
Florence Estes
University of Kentucky

In this paper, I would like to do two things: First, I would like to share with you, a small piece of my ongoing research on Cora Wilson Stewart and her crusade against adult illiteracy in Kentucky, between 1911 and 1920. Secondly, I would like to invite you to consider a particular interpretative stance from which to think about literacy historically. In reading the papers of Cora Wilson Stewart, in talking about this research with my colleagues, and in listening to the current public discourse on adult illiteracy, I am struck by the many ways to frame questions about illiteracy. While there are, no doubt, numerous approaches or interpretive moves which structure the kinds of questions we ask of literacy, there are two which, when presented in contrast, I hope will clarify my own interests in this topic.

One way to consider literacy is to take it as a given, a natural descriptive category, under which we discuss our concerns about who is literate, who is not, and how we might evaluate and improve programs which seek to bring literacy to greater numbers. This approach is represented well in the kinds of questions being asked today, in public discussions of the high rates and causes of adult illiteracy in the United States. A second approach to asking questions about literacy is to regard it as socially constructed. This would mean to define it, not in technical terms, but in terms of its use in political discourse, as well as its symbolic capital in the social and economic context in which it takes hold as a public issue. From this view, literacy can be analyzed, not so much as a birthright of individuals, but as a means to certain kinds of social and economic agendas.

It is this socially constructed view which I would like to briefly develop today. The aim here is a modest one: to propose a starting point for considering the meaning of literacy, emphasizing the rhetorical record which emerges from a particular case study. The emphasis will be on political discourse itself and how reformers interpreted the meaning of literacy in social context. Or to put it another way, to consider the social grammars and syntax of literacy. I mean for this to tilt at a different angle than that of a "hidden agenda" argument, such that language is not hiding actions, but that rhetorical choices permit certain narrative possibilities at the exclusion of others.

The Moonlight Schools

The Moonlight Schools of Kentucky were classes offering a rudimentary education to adult students held in public school houses in the evenings. Their founder, Cora Wilson Stewart had been a public school teacher in Rowan County and had twice been elected that county's Superintendent of Public Schools. Rowan County is in the eastern portion of Kentucky, which has, since the turn of century, been considered as part of a distinct geographic area covering several states, known as the Appalachian region. Stewart, who believed her crusade to be a Christian mission, saw the Moonlight Schools as a redemptive social institution for adults held in the "bondage of illiteracy." Noted for her rhetorical finesse, she urged that these isolated mountaineers — whose illiteracy rates were among the highest in the nation, according to the 1910 federal census — deserved to be "emancipated from the darkness" of this "evil." Between 1914 and 1920, Stewart chaired the Kentucky Illiteracy Crusade (KIC) which attempted to establish Moonlight Schools in public school houses throughout the state. In 1920, Stewart and her supporters, tried unsuccessfully to get the Kentucky General Assembly to institutionalize the adult literacy programs through a permanent state agency. Following this defeat, Stewart continued, through the next decade as a national figurehead of the adult literacy movement, and helped to launch similar crusades in the 20's and 30's, which variously waved banners of Appalachia; the state of Kentucky; the South and the nation. This early 20th century literacy crusade stood apart from today's more diffuse adult literacy movement by virtue of its almost inseparable identification with the persona of Cora Wilson Stewart.

The Stewart collection, housed at the University of Kentucky, is a rich endowment of public speeches and writings about illiteracy, by a woman considered by her contemporaries, to be a gifted speaker. She represents then, an important emblematic figure of Progressive era discourse on literacy.

Illiteracy As Disease

An editorial appeared in the *Journal of Education* on January 11, 1917, offering praise for Cora Wilson Stewart's battle against adult illiteracy. A mid-section of that piece illustrates the point that illiteracy, like so many other plagues upon the South, had become a solid, a bracketed concept with no give, believed to be conquerable.

> The Government has appropriated vast millions to war against the boll weevil, the cattle tick, the foot and mouth disease of cattle, the diseases of hens and hogs and . . . [has] waged against the mosquito, the fly and the hookworm.
>
> But no scientist, scholar, or statesman, no man of high or low degree, has ever devoted a thought or a penny to an intelligent and persistent effort to destroy at once the illiteracy pest that is poisoning the body politic more

> fatally than flies, mosquitoes and hook worms have harmed men, women and children.[1]

In an interesting twist on what was then the suffrage movement's ethos of displaying women's special humanistic gifts, the editorial went on to make gender-specific distinctions about the origins of Progressive era social invention. While it was men who had applied scientific principles to help rid us of other plagues, ". . . a woman, single-handed, rallied the humble rural teachers in Rowan County in Kentucky to grapple heroically, intelligently, persistently with the curse of adult illiteracy in the mountain fastnesses [sic] of the country."[2]

This curse would require intense human response, which, in order to stir, Stewart made liberal use of the "illiteracy as disease" metaphor. In her address before the National Illiteracy Crusade, delivered in 1924, Stewart told her audience that "the presence of illiteracy is now to many communities a challenge to immediate action — it has come to be regarded as it should be, a thing that has no more right to exist unremedied than small pox or yellow fever."[3] This characterization of illiteracy as death stalking, enabled Stewart to speak of making war against it. Illiteracy was not a complex paradox, but a deadly disease. When she spoke, as she so often did, to groups of potential volunteers, such arguments had to have been persuasive. They left no room for skeptical positions or for fluid conversation. Just as no compromises could be made with hookworm or small pox, the struggle against illiteracy should be final, radically uprooting, leaving no carelessly scattered seeds. This uncompromising position on the meaning of illiteracy was extended often to its larger meaning within the context of the "New South" vision, so that in a speech before the State Federation of Women's Clubs in Lexington (c. 1915) Stewart told this exemplary group of voluntary crusaders that ". . . when we meet the enemy we shall not stop with powder and shot — reading and writing — but we shall shell him with the shrapnel of agriculture, forestry, health, good roads and tax reform."[4]

To discuss illiteracy as a disease in the context of the reform agenda for the South, was to invoke the scientific imagination. For it was the vaccines, medicines and scientific agriculture which, in other quarters, were being prescribed for the various Southern diseases. While Stewart was an active player in ushering in the grammars of science, she often did so with Biblical gestures. This religious crusade against an evil disease prompted Stewart, at times, to even embody the illiterate person himself as evil.

> And, shall we not, by our marching and our shouts and with the blowing of horns and bugles and the beating of drums and the flying of banners, so advertise the evil and disgrace that all will flee from it, and if one should by chance be left he will call upon the rocks and hills to hide him, and if one should grow up illiterate, so much will his disease be in disfavor that he will seem a thing unclean and as loathsome as a leper.[5]

Just as illiteracy, in rhetorical use, had become an object, a target for demolition, the illiterate, personified, had been forsaken by God and would also be ghettoized, made to be apart from the literate, reminding listeners of plagues, quarantines and contagion. Clearly, in the time of Stewart, literacy was no technical matter of language decoding, but an urgently needed weapon against a disgusting human condition. To cast the illiterate himself as the embodiment of evil in this club-wielding war against illiteracy, was to suggest him as a target for annihilation. He wasn't to be literally wiped out, of course, but perhaps this implies the wish for the end of a way of life — in this case an oral culture, self-sufficient in its own right. Literacy then, was not a set of skills, but an opportunity for salvation, for rebirth into a world envisioned by the Progressive's imagination, built upon a complex of social networks and cooperation as large as America herself.

Such a view of the oral culture of Appalachia was consonant with the view of 19th century missionaries, characterized by Henry Shapiro, as believing that Appalachians were an "incomplete version of America."[6] Shapiro has argued that our interpretation of the Appalachian region has been historically tied to a collective interpretation of the meaning of America, the nation. Appalachians were a "peculiar people" to the late 19th century missionaries. Because of their lack of roads, commercial intercourse, and strong institutions of social control, mountaineers were themselves set off from the culture of modern America. These differences, interpreted as intolerable deficits, needed to be made extinct. It was thought that social institutions transplanted to this mountain subculture would make the population at one with America-writ-large, thereby, in a manner of speaking, "killing off" the vestiges of this way of life. Benevolent workers after 1900, of course began to embrace pluralistic interpretations of American variations in locale and culture, and to speak of the region as having its own self-legitimating culture. But Cora Wilson Stewart clung to the more polarized view of Appalachians. For her, literacy represented that way of life to which the Appalachian people should migrate.

Literacy As Community Membership

If illiteracy was a disease, leaving its victims metaphorically pockmarked and quarantined, the quality of being literate — defined as the possession of a particular set of beliefs and attitudes — welcomed one into the fold. To be literate in the world of Cora Wilson Stewart meant to be a card-carrying member of a particular American dream. We might, under this heading, consider literacy — in terms of its rhetorical capital — to work in the service of imagining, inventing or recovering community.

At the time Stewart started the first Moonlight Schools in 1911, the country was completing its transformation to an industrial economy, in which the "metaphor of system" had become an inescapable symbol of progress.[7] Like many other middle-class Southern reformers, Stewart was concerned about ways to make the region a vibrant, participating partner in the national economy. The "New South" vision for prosperity symbolized the hope for inclusion into this national community.[8] But, if some were able to anticipate that the realization of the "New South" might mean the enrichment of a few at the expense of the many — expressed as child labor, theft of mineral rights through the broad form deed, the establishment of company towns and the absorption of small landholders into the wage labor force — others, like Cora Wilson Stewart, imagined it as an opportunity to fulfill long-held expectations of the American dream, to provide the conditions for a universally shared comfortable life.

But imagining such a community made it necessary to accomodate a vision of how the people of a region, characterized by a barter economy, physical isolation and illiteracy could become more like the reformers themselves; that is, how to expand the middle class so it embraced the mountaineers. This would mean imbuing Appalachians with values of thrift and grasping the importance of participating in the national economy; a respect for science and efficiency; an understanding of the 20th century relationship between the citizen and the state; and the emulation of middle class behavioral norms. Learning to read was a metaphor for membership into the culture and economy, as envisioned by the middle class. Reading meant participation in the rules of a new society of efficiency whose social cohesion was dependent upon its members trading in a common language. Literacy, like currency, had value as a kind of concrete, manifest symbol of the national community, imagined as one. One particular passage from an undated speech made by Stewart, entitled simply "Illiteracy in the United States," clenches these relationships with startling economy:

> In these most illiterate sections, conditions approach the barbaric. Marriage has no sanctity whatever and commerce is carried on through barter and trade as when America was roamed over by savage Indians. Sex morality is rare in densely illiterate regions. An exchange of wives for the weekend is a practice carried on in certain of these localities. Here, the currency of the country is an unknown medium of exchange, neither silver, gold nor paper money being in circulation anywhere within their precincts. It is needless to add that where the currency of the country does not circulate, none of its progressive ideas will penetrate or its plans for human or national welfare prevail.[9]

Literacy, then, was a bridge between two groups, who shared little in common, to orchestrate a collective dream in a common language. As an instrument, literacy was meant to groom the eastern Kentucky Appalachian population for membership in the national community.

Probably no more clear example of this grooming function exists than the three volumes of *Country Life Readers*, which Stewart wrote for adult students learning to read.[10] These readers appropriately reflect the agenda which the reformers saw as the hope for a cohesive national culture, such that they could have been entitled, *An Appalachian's Guide* *to An American Dream*. The culture of commerce was taught through lessons on banking, check writing and how to read newspapers to know when to sell. Several lessons illustrated the importance of embracing science rather than superstitution and folk wisdom by emphasizing scientific agriculture, domestic science and cooking from written recipes. Such lessons — presented as brief conversations or narratives, often ended with character assassinations of those who would reject science as salvation. (One lesson, for example, concluded that a farmer who did not observe the scientific methods of soil preservation was "shiftless and lazy.") Other sections of the *Country Life Readers* reflected the symbiotic relationship between the citizen and the state, linking, for example, observance of compulsory school laws to material prosperity and emphasizing social benefits accruing to the taxpayer. Finally, given the importance of middle class behavioral norms of personal style, taste and presentation, Stewart included lessons on such things as proper table manners, and tasteful colors to paint one's homestead.

Her *Readers* could be "read" then, as a set of instructions for Appalachian adults on how to "belong" to a particular interpretation of nation, an interpretation which placed great faith in science and the state as rational non-partisan solutions to social problems, eclipsing all the while, interpretations of America as divided by social class or race. The ability to read then, was not a technical matter of putting words together arbitrarily, but combining them to make particular meanings in the service of specific national visions.

Literacy and the Amplification of Public School Reform

> The movement has changed the mountaineer's entire view of life and has put them in touch with the thought of the world. One little boy said, "Since mamma learned to read and write I have to go to school everyday."[11]
>
> —Cora Wilson Stewart
> c. 1918

In 1911, when the Moonlight Schools were begun in Kentucky, Southern reformers, with the backing of Northern capital and leadership, had been engaged for several years in public evangelism to persuade their respective states to adopt legislation for compulsory school attendance, the professionalization of teaching and more centralized school decision-making. Given Stewart's background as public school teacher and county school superintendent, she was, from the beginning of the adult literacy crusade, tied inextricably to this ongoing public school campaign.

The historical record shows widespread comment from both local and state school leaders on how important the Moonlight Schools had become as a way to "awaken" communities to the need for public school reform. At a time when the agenda of public school reformers was being thwarted to some degree by local resistance to the added local tax burden and to compulsory school laws, symbols which provided occasions for consensus rather than division, carried significant weight in political currency.

During the first two decades in which the reform agenda was being put into place, when Kentucky's county superintendents reported favorably about their work, they did so by invoking the language of community. Frequently pointed to as agents of the awakening community spirit were corn and canning clubs, School Improvement Leagues and the Moonlight Schools. The observance of compulsory attendance laws by parents was the most common measure of the "community awakening." Almost uniformly, county superintendents evaluated the adult literacy movement on the local level, in light of its power to positively affect increased attendance in the day schools.

Clay County School Superintendent Luther Hatton's view of adult literacy as only a marginal result of the Moonlight School movement was typical: "Teaching an adult to read a little and perhaps write his name," he wrote, "is no very great thing, but when you have taught him enough to interest him in his child's welfare, you have added untold wealth to the Commonwealth."[12] County Superintendent Nora Alcorn, in making the same point, acknowledged a sense of guilty discomfort that the day time public school should be the prime recipient of work in the adult evening classes: "We consider that the beneficial effect that these schools have upon the day school in interest and encouraging attendance and in securing cooperation of the patrons well repays the teacher for this extra effort if one should consider it from a selfish standpoint."[13]

The Kentucky Illiteracy Commission which Stewart chaired was short-lived, having been in existence only from 1914 to 1920. The KIC and the Moonlight Schools they engendered had come on the heels of a dramatic two decades of reform legislation, which essentially had erected the scaffolding of Kentucky's modern public school system, which reformers considered basic to the visions of economic development of the South. As the problem had often been framed, "The South is poor because the schools are poor because the South is poor." A vicious cycle had been perceived by reformers in which poverty begot ignorance which begot resistance to schools which begot more poverty and ignorance. To invoke the disease metaphor again, they saw successive generations reinfecting each other with the illiteracy disease, such that they yearned for some divine intervention at the point of the adult life cycle which they hoped would develop belief among adults who would then, perhaps, be more inclined to support school reform. Within this framework, Stewart and her work represented the needed stunning symbol. ". . . is there one so foolish as to believe," she asked an audience of clubwomen, "that when a parent has been redeemed from such a bondage, has tasted his freedom and lost his shame that he will permit that shame to fasten itself upon his children."[14] To turn discussions of potentially controversial topics like compulsory attendance and local taxation into questions about literacy then, was to muffle the sound of social class conflict, while amplifying the more harmonious call to community responsibility.

Conclusion

This discussion has not been meant as an exhaustive view of the meaning of literacy at a particular historical juncture. It is rather, a preliminary massaging of artifacts which may help in finding contextual interpretations of literacy. An essential point here is that language matters: that it is not to be considered as a meaningless rhetorical category, but an important means to historical understanding. The hope is that the rhetorical record can tell us something about how we have constructed meanings of particular educational reform movements, and how those meanings may expand, shrink or become altered over time.

On a final note of emphasis on social grammars, let me borrow the words of another historian, who, in another context has made thoughtful distinctions about the uses of rhetoric. He writes:

> There are those who would neatly separate the "rhetoric" of public education from the "reality" in order to gain analytic leverage on the nation's past. For these historians, "rhetoric" is understood as the inflated speech of civic ceremony. Although not necessarily a sinister guise for motives consciously unutterable, it is a speech not to be trusted. The "reality" regularly contrasted with this "rhetoric" includes actions taken, deeds done almost wordlessly, and the demonstrable social effects of such deeds. In opposition to a distinction of this kind [it is possible to find] . . . a far more organic conception of the relationship between speech and reality — a far more organic conception, indeed, of the relationship between reality and desire.[15]

Notes

The author wishes to thank Richard Angelo for his many hours of patient conversation and for his thoughtful criticism of an earlier draft of this paper.

[1] A.E. Winship (editor) *Journal of Education* January 11, 1917, p. 42.

[2] ibid, p. 42.

[3] Cora Wilson Stewart, address delivered before the National Illiteracy Crusade, January 11, 1924, Cora Wilson Stewart Papers, Box 45, Special Collections, King Library, University of Kentucky (hereinafter the Cora Wilson Stewart collection will be cited as CWS Papers).

[4] Cora Wilson Stewart, "Kentucky's War on Illiteracy," address before the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs (c. 1915) CWS Papers, Box 45, p. 6.

[5] ibid, p. 7.

[6] Henry Shapiro, Appalachia On Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in The American Consciousness, 1870-1920 (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

[7] Daniel Rodgers has offered a useful way to use language as an approach to giving some coherence to the Progressive era. Urging us not to attempt to capture Progressives "within a static ideological frame," Rodgers suggests that what gave unity to the period were three distinct social languages to articulate both their opposition to the present and their vision of the future. These three languages are "antimonopolism," which attacked the concentration of wealth; "social bonds" which could work as a referent either for social control or for social harmony; and lastly, the language of efficiency, rationalization and social engineering which he has called the "metaphor of system." (See Daniel Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews In American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982 p. 113-132).

[8] there are several helpful books for placing the literacy movement in the context of regional social and economic change. On the Appalachian region, see Ronald D. Eller, *Miners, Millhands and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1982) and David E. Whisnant, *Modernizing The Mountaineer: People, Power and Planning in Appalachia* (Boone, North Carolina: Appalachian Consortium Press, 1980). For considering the Southern region in the Progressive period, see Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983) and C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South: 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971).

[9] Cora Wilson Stewart, "Illiteracy in the United States," CWS Papers, Box 52, p. 3.

[10] Cora Wilson Stewart, *Country Life Readers: First Book* (Richmond: B.F. Johnson Publishing Co., 1915). The Second and Third Book were published in 1916 and 1917, also by B.F. Johnson.

[11] Cora Wilson Stewart, "Moonlight Schools," undated speech, CWS Papers, Box 52.

[12] Luther Hatton, *Biennial Report of the Kentucky Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1915*, p. 261.

[13] Nora Alcorn, *Biennial Report of the Kentucky Superintendent of Public Instruction, 1915*, p. 299.

[14] op. cit. "Kentucky's War on Illiteracy," p. 7.

[15] Richard Angelo, "A Sense of Occasion," (Essay Review of R. Freeman Butts, *Public Education in the U.S.* and Geraldine J. Clifford, *The Shape of American Education*), *The History of Education Quarterly* (Fall, 1981): 347-365.

The Oral-Manual Debate in Deaf Education: Language Policies in Conflict

Timothy Reagan
Central Connecticut State University

The nineteenth century witnessed the development of formal, state-supported institutions devoted to the education of the deaf in American society, beginning in 1817 with the establishment of the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons (now the American School for the Deaf) in Hartford.[1] By the end of the century, fifty-two other schools for the deaf had been set up, twenty-one of them founded by deaf people themselves.[2] This impressive extension of schooling to a previously neglected population was accompanied, however, by the development of an acrimonious debate within the field of deaf education about how deaf children should be taught, and what the goals of their education ought to be. This debate, which continues to divide educators of the deaf even today, found its clearest manifestation in the personal rivalry between Edward Miner Gallaudet and Alexander Graham Bell, the two foremost educators of the deaf in the United States during the nineteenth century. In this paper, the nature and origins of the debate between the "manualists" and the "oralists" in deaf education will be explored in light of the competing positions taken by Gallaudet and Bell. Further, these positions will be related to prevailing American social thought of the period, and it will be suggested that they are, in essence, different in degree rather than in kind, as has often been suggested. Finally, the implications of the manual-oral debate, and of the common assumptions held by *all* of the parties to the debate, for contemporary education of the deaf will be discussed.

E. M. Gallaudet and the "Manual" Position

Edward Miner Gallaudet devoted his entire life to working with the deaf, and this was in many ways a natural outcome of his own upbringing. His father, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, although trained to be a Congregationalist minister, had instead found his vocation in the establishment and administration of the Connecticut Asylum, and spent much of his life urging that the deaf be taught in their own language — the language of signs.[3] The elder Gallaudet had, in preparation for the founding of the Connecticut Asylum, travelled to Europe to study the various methods for teaching the deaf.[4] In Paris, he studied with the noted educator of the deaf the Abbé Roch-Ambroise Sicard,[5] and brought back to New England not only Sicard's method, but also one of Sicard's disciples — a young deaf man named Laurent Clerc, who was to teach in the Connecticut Asylum.[6] The arrival of Clerc in America is important not only for the education of the deaf, but also for the development of American Sign Language, which is based largely on the French Sign Language brought to this country by Clerc.[7] The younger Gallaudet was only twelve years old when his father first suggested to him the possibility of a future working with the deaf, as he later noted in his *Memoirs*.

> When I became a High School boy my father began to talk with me as to my future career, and I remember as though it were yesterday the occasion when he suggested that perhaps I might like to take up the work which had engaged the energies of his earlier manhood. He spoke at some length of the joy he had in doing what he believed was his Master's work when he labored for the deaf, [and] said he believed I would never be sorry if I carried out his suggestion.[8]

Nor was Edward Miner Gallaudet induced to consider a career in deaf education solely by the example and urgings of his father, however. He was no doubt also motivated by the example of his mother, Sophia Fowler Gallaudet, a remarkable and talented deaf woman who relied on sign language to communicate.[9] It was only natural that, as a young man, he should decide to devote his life to the education of the deaf. Thus it was that when Amos Kendall approached him about becoming the superintendent of the newly established Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind (which was later to become Gallaudet College, now Gallaudet University) in 1857, the 20 year-old Gallaudet jumped at the opportunity.[10] This was the start of a long and illustrious career which saw Gallaudet become a leading figure in deaf education in the nineteenth century.

Among Gallaudet's more lasting, and perhaps better known, contributions was his championing of the cause of "manualism" in the education of the deaf. Because of its significance for our discussion, it is important that the manual position — at least as espoused by Gallaudet himself — be explained here. Basically, "manualism" refers to the idea that the deaf can be best educated through the use of sign language, or at the very least, through manual representations of English (including even the somewhat extreme example of the "Rochester Method," which entailed fingerspelling each and every word spoken).[11] "Manualism," it should be pointed out, does not detail the rejection of speaking and the study of articulation. This is an important point, and one that needs to be clearly understood: manualists did not reject the teaching of lip-reading and speech; rather, they simply did not have great expectations for the widespread success of those methods.[12] Further, as Gallaudet himself observed, such skills in the deaf, while obviously useful for those who could acquire them, were not in fact comparable to the speaking and listening skills of the hearing population:

> And so essential is the possession of hearing to the free use and enjoyment of articulate speech as a means of communication from man to man, that to the deaf this can be no more, at its very best, than what an artificial leg is to one who would walk, or run, or dance. Serviceable, no doubt; far better than no leg at all; but never an equivalent for the missing member.[13]

This passage provides a clue to the nature and assumptions of the manualist position. The deaf are cut off from the hearing world, and there is nothing that can be done to eliminate the chasm that separates the deaf from the hearing. There is much we can do, perhaps, to bridge the gap, but the gap itself will always remain. This helps to explain the defense of the use of sign language and signing in general repeatedly offered by Gallaudet:

> But the greatest value of the sign-language to the deaf, when the whole period of their lives is taken into account, is to be found in the facility it affords for free and unconstrained social intercourse . . . it is only by employing signs that they can gain the pleasure and profit that comes from conversation in the social circle, that they can enjoy such freedom of intercommunication as shall make it possible for them to forget that they are deaf.[14]

In short, sign language provides not merely a communication mode for the deaf, but a link to other deaf people and to the deaf community as a whole. In addition, from a pedagogical point of view Gallaudet was convinced of the utility of signing:

> As a means of developing and stimulating thought, and of explaining the meaning of words and phrases new to a pupil, signs often serve a purpose that nothing else can.[15]

In a related vein, in a vigorous defense of the use of signing in the education of the deaf, he asserted that:

> Since experience has proven that the sign-language is natural to the deaf, that it is acquired and made use of by them more easily than speech is by the hearing, that it furnishes a full and adequate means for communicating thought and feeling, often surpassing speech in vividness and exactness, it is not strange that teachers of the largest experience and broadest view unite in approving its use in the education of the deaf.[16]

Finally, Gallaudet often cited his father's assertion that, "so far as motions or actions addressed to the senses are concerned, this [sign] language, in its improved state, is superior in accuracy and force of delineation to that in which words spelt on the fingers, spoken, written, or printed, are employed."[17]

Does this mean, then, that Gallaudet advocated what was in his own time called the "natural" sign language — that is, what today we know as American Sign Language, or ASL? It is clear that he himself knew ASL in its nineteenth century form; indeed, he appears to have been a native user of the language. Further, Gallaudet made repeated reference to the "force, clearness and beauty of expression possible in this language."[18] However, despite his knowledge of and affection for the "natural" sign language, this was not in fact the language that he wished to see employed in schools for the deaf. Education for the deaf, Gallaudet believed, had to be concerned primarily with encouraging mastery of

English. Thus, reliance on the "natural" sign language, especially in terms of word-order (which is radically different in ASL than it is in English), was very problematic indeed:

> . . . until a deaf-mute can think freely in conventional [spoken] language and express his thoughts fluently and correctly in the same, *every instance of the use, by him or to him, of the language of signs in its natural order, impedes his progress towards the great end and object of his education* . . .[19]

Thus, Gallaudet believed,

> . . . when signs are used, an advantage would seem to be gained, by presenting them, as nearly as possible, in the order of the written language, in that the habit of thinking in this order would be thus encouraged.[20]

Related to this concern with the need for the deaf to become competent in English was Gallaudet's fear that signing and sign language might be used to excess in deaf education — that is, where employed by "injudicious, incompetent, or inexperienced teachers,"[21] signing might actually impede the acquistion of English. For example, Gallaudet warned that:

> The language of pantomime is the mortar, necessary to join the parts together, but to be used sparingly, and to be pressed out, so to speak, by the weightier material which is to give character and durability to the work. Should it be used in excess the base of the building will surely crumble before the capstone is laid.[22]

In short, signing provided an "easy out," a way for both teachers and students to avoid the difficulties posed by English through the "too free use of the sign-language."[23] Such practices were unacceptable to Gallaudet, who viewed them as acting in violation of "the best 'all-around' development of the [deaf] pupils."[24] What was needed to resolve the sign language problem, in his view, was moderation — the "golden mean."[25]

A.G. Bell and the "Oral" Position

Alexander Graham Bell, although in many ways a very different man than Edward Gallaudet, actually shared a number of biographical characteristics with him. Just as Edward Gallaudet had been influenced by his father's involvement in and commitment to the education of the deaf, so Bell was strongly influenced by his father's (and, indeed, his grandfather's) work teaching speech and elocution.[26] In fact, much of Bell's own work with the deaf was based on his father's system of "Visible Speech" (a system by which oral sounds could be accurately represented by written symbols).[27] A further similarity was that Bell's mother Eliza was hard-of-hearing, though, unlike Sophia Fowler Gallaudet, she apparently had some residual hearing (we know, for instance, that she used a hearing trumpet on occasion), and in any case did not sign, but rather relied on speech and lip-reading. This maternal model received additional support from Bell's wife, Mabel Hubbard Bell, whom he had met originally as a pupil. Mabel Bell had become deaf at the age of five, and never lost the ability to speak. These two women provided on-going and immediate models of the potentialities that Bell believed were held by oral approaches to the education of the deaf. Finally, if Gallaudet was the champion of manualism in nineteenth century deaf education in the United States, then Bell was his nemesis — the most articulate and dedicated defender of oralism, and among the harshest critics of the use of sign language of any sort in the schooling of the deaf.

Central to Bell's educational thought was his concern with the necessity for the deaf to "pass" in the hearing world to as great an extent as possible. While Gallaudet had assumed that competence in English was one of the major objectives for the schooling of the deaf, Bell saw this as the *only* objective.[28] Sign language served as an impediment to the development of spoken language, Bell believed, and should therefore be rejected in education:

> The constant practice of the sign language interferes with the mastery of the English language, and it is to be feared that comparatively few of the congenitally deaf are able to read books understandingly unless couched in simple language.[29]

Indeed, Bell had a very well-developed position with respect to sign language. Unlike many oralists, Bell *did* recognize, albeit perhaps a bit unconvincingly, the merits of sign language:

> I heartily agree with all that experienced teachers of the deaf have urged concerning the beauty and great interst of this gesture-language [sic]. It is indeed most interesting to observe how pantomimic gestures have been abbreviated to simple signs expressive of concrete ideas; how these have been compounded or changed their meaning to indicate abstract thoughts; and how the sequence of the sign-words has to a certain extent become obligatory, thus forming a sort of gesture syntax or grammar.[30]

For Bell, however, all this counted *against* signing, since it meant that for the deaf individual English would become "a foreign tongue, and the more he becomes habituated to [the use of sign language] the more he becomes a stranger in his own country."[31]

Bell was also critical of the idea that sign language was the only sort of language that could be considered "natural" for the congentially deaf, a view commonly held by educators of the deaf. Bell suggested that this idea was fallacious, arguing that, "[sign language] is natural [to deaf children] only in the same sense that English is natural to an American child."[32] This was so, Bell argued, since:

> When we examine the languages of the world that are naturally acquired by hearing children, we fail to discover any natural connection between the words and the things they represent; everything is arbitrary and conventional.[33]

In short, in acquiring language it would make more sense for deaf children simply to learn English, rather than learning English through the mediation of sign language. This would ensure that English, rather than the easier sign language, would become the child's vernacular language.[34] Because of its ease of use for the deaf, then, sign language should be banished from schools for the deaf:

> If it were our object to fit deaf children to live together in adult life, and hold communication with the outside world as we hold communication with other nationalities than our own, then no better plan could be devised than to assist the development of a special language suitable for intercommunication among the deaf . . . But if, on the other hand, it is our object to destroy the barriers that separate them from the outside world and take away the isolation of their lives, then I hold that our energies should be devoted to the acquisition of the English language as a *vernacular* in its spoken and written forms.[35]

Bell's concern with enabling the deaf to integrate into the dominant, hearing community was grounded in his belief that prevailing practices in deaf education served to segregate the deaf, allowing for the emergence not only of a different type of language,[36] but, more important, in the "formation of a deaf variety of the human race."[37] As he forcefully put it,

> . . . if we desired to create a deaf variety of the race, and were to attempt to devise methods which should compel deaf-mutes to marry deaf-mutes, we could not invent more complete or efficient methods than those that actually exist and which have arisen from entirely different and far higher motives.[38]

The segregation of the deaf, in Bell's view, was encouraged by the practice of residential schooling of the deaf:

> With such an object [the creation of a deaf variety of the race] in view, would it not be of importance to separate deaf-mutes from hearing persons as early in life as possible and make them live together in the same place, carefully guarding them from the possibility of making acquaintances among hearing persons of their own age? This is what we do. We take deaf children away from their homes and place them in institutions by the hundred, keeping them there from early childhood to the commencement of adult life.[39]

Thus, by tolerating the use of sign language, by bringing the young deaf together in residential institutions, and, in adult life, by allowing and even promoting social intercourse among the deaf in state and national organizations devoted to the deaf,[40] society was encouraging intermarriage among the deaf. To prevent this, Bell believed, deaf children had to be taught to identify with the dominant hearing population, and contacts with other deaf people had to be minimized. This was especially true in the classroom, where Bell wished to see only hearing teachers:

> Nearly one-third of the teachers of the deaf and dumb in America are themselves deaf, and this must be considered as another element favorable to the formation of a deaf race — to be therefore avoided.[41]

It was his concern with deaf teachers of the deaf, incidentally, that led to Bell's well-publicized opposition to the creation of a Normal School under Gallaudet's auspices, which led in turn to the breaking out of "open hostilities" between the two men in the early 1890s.[42]

Bell's fears about the emergence of "a deaf variety of the human race" were not merely a minor facet of his thought, incidentally, but rather played a major role in his conception of deafness and in his view of how society ought to respond to deafness. It is not unlikely that Bell would have preferred various types of legislated "repressive measures," had such measures been feasible. In 1883, for instance, he argued that, "a law forbidding congenitally deaf persons from intermarrying would go a long way towards checking the evil."[43]He recognized, however, that such restrictive approaches were unlikely to be effective, and so actually rejected them — though his rejection was based on pragmatic, rather than humanistic or ethical, concerns. As he commented in a letter to David Fairchild,

> We have all sorts of strange and fantastic schemes for improving the race by instituting legislative interference with the marriages of the undesirable; but I have seen clearly that this would not produce the desired improvement for even were we to go to the extreme length of killing off the undesirable altogether so that they could not propogate their kind, this would not lead to an increase in the quantity or quality of the [ ]desirable, it would simple prevent deterioration. It would diminish the production of the undesirable without increasing the production of the desirable.[44]

Instead, Bell supported efforts to encourage intermarriage between deaf and hearing people. As he explained in an article entitled "How to Improve the Race," Bell was convinced that:

> If undesirables marry normal or desirable partners they will not only have fewer undesirable children than if they married one another, but the potency of the offspring to produce undesirable grandchildren will be reduced. The undesirable blood is diluted, so to speak, by admixture with normal blood; and most of the offspring will be of the normal type.[45]

One especially unpleasant outcome of Bell's public condemnations of practices which allowed and encouraged the deaf to congregate socially, and thus increased the likelihood of intermarriage, was the practice, legally sanctioned by a number state eugenics laws,[46] of sterilizing congenitally deaf children as a way of ensuring that they would not pass their deafness on to the next generation. As Lane has recently noted,

> According to the Rector of the All-Angels Mission to the Deaf in Baltimore at the time of Bell's memoir ["Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race"], news of it spread like wildfire among parents of the deaf, 'their family physicians, and among surgeons generally throughout the world, and suggested to them a senseless and cruel procedure — the sterilization of children born deaf.'[47]

Many such sterilizations took place, and the adult lives of many deaf people were grievously harmed as a result. Such practices were not restricted to the deaf, of course, but affected a number of "socially inadequate classes."[48] While Bell cannot, of course, be held directly accountable for such assaults on deaf children, he must take his share of the blame, and his share is not a small one. It is instructive here to note the view of a deaf contemporary of Bell's, who said of Bell that:

> . . . he comes in the guise of a friend, and [is], therefore, the most to be feared enemy of the American deaf, past and present.[49]

Finally, as Winefield has noted, "[n]owhere . . . not even in his personal papers, does [Bell] reveal concern for the individual 'undesirables' who would be eradicated, sterilized, or prevented from marrying if the extremists had their way."[50]

We are left, then, with the image of Bell as a man who dedicated his life to encouraging the deaf to overcome their deafness by denial: denial of sign language, denial of the significant cultural differences between hearing and deaf people, denial of intermarriage between deaf people, denial of the value of using deaf teachers in educating deaf children, denial of the place of the residential school, and, ultimately, at least from the deaf perspective, a denial of deaf people themselves as people. This last point was made by Bell's own wife, Mabel, who wrote that:

> Your deaf-mute business is hardly human to you. You are very tender and gentle to the deaf children, but their interest to you lies in their being deaf, not in their humanity . . .[51]

For Bell, "the main object of the education of deaf people [was] to fit them to live in the world of hearing-speaking people,"[52] and he was quite literally unable to conceive of any other purpose for it.[53] It was in this pattern of denial, perhaps, that Bell differed most radically from Gallaudet.

Branches of the Same Tree: Shared Perspectives of Manualism and Oralism

It would be easy to see manualism and oralism as fundamentally incompatible, operating from totally different and irreconcilable starting points. Such a view, however, distorts both approaches to deafness and the education of the deaf, and colors our understanding of contemporary deaf education in the process. The two positions not only have common roots, but, of greater import, share a number of significant assumptions about deafness, deaf people and the needs of the deaf which need to be addressed here.

Central to both the manualist and oralist views is the late nineteenth and early twentieth century American concern with and commitment to cultural and linguistic assimilation. The period of time during which deaf education in the United States was emerging and developing was also the period of massive European immigration to this country, and many of the same sorts of fears that characterized the education of the children of immigrants were reflected in deaf education.[54] "Americanization" in the public schools meant, in essence, complete cultural, linguistic and behavioral conformity to Anglo-American norms, as well as an acceptance of the underlying values of Anglo-American democracy and society.[55] As Louis Brandeis explained,

> What is Americanization? It manifests itself, in a superficial way, when the immigrant adopts the clothers, the manners, and the customs generally prevailing here. Far more important is the manifestation presented when he substitutes for his mother tongue the English language as the common medium of speech. But the adoption of our language, manners and customs is only a small part of the process. To become Americanized the change wrought must be fundamental. However great his outward conformity, the immigrant is not Americanized unless his interests and affections have become deeply rooted here.[56]

The key point here is that Americans of the period were generally deeply worried about the perceived threats to national and social unity posed by the growing level of cultural and linguistic diversity in their society. There was overwhelming popular support among Anglo-Americans for efforts to promote and ensure cultural and linguistic unity[57] (the attempts by many immigrant groups to resist such efforts notwithstanding[58]), and such pressures for conformity could not help but be imitated in the education of the deaf.

For the deaf, this meant that the child's primary identification should be with the dominant, hearing society rather than with the adult deaf community. Further, as we have seen, English was to be the child's language, regardless of whether it was taught manually or orally. In short, what both manualism and oralism sought, although in admittedly quite different ways, was to assimilate the deaf child into the hearing world. The oralists were somewhat more optimistic in their efforts, believing that it was actually possible for most deaf children to be trained to "pass" as hearing, but the goal was remarkably similar for the manualists.[59]

Deafness itself was also viewed in very similar ways by the advocates of manualism and oralism. For both groups, deafness was seen primarily as a pathological medical condition, which meant that the social and pedagogical models applied to deafness and to deaf people were models of deviance rather than models of difference.[60] To be fair, a few manualists (Gallaudet among them) did in fact recognize the deaf community as a type of cultural and linguistic enclave, but this view never gained popularity with the vast majority of teachers of the deaf.

Related to this view of deafness as a deviant, pathological condition has been the overwhelming and continuing predominance, in all fields related to deafness, of hearing persons. Education of the deaf has been, and remains, almost entirely in the hands, and under the control, of hearing people. This is a feature of deaf education that has hardly gone unnoticed by the deaf themselves. In a 1912 letter to the principal of the New York School for the Deaf, for instance, John Keiser noted that:

> It is a lamentable fact that, in matters relating to the deaf, their education and well-being, few if any take the trouble to get the opinion of the very people most concerned — the deaf themselves.[61]

Nor, it should be noted, has this "audiocentric" paternalism in deaf education disappeared. Daniel Ling, who is arguably the leading oralist theoretician in North America today, has been quoted as arguing that:

> Members of the adult deaf community are not, by virtue of their deafness, experts on the education of hearing-impaired children, and to argue otherwise is comparable to claiming expertise in pulminary medicine simply because one breathes.[62]

In short, manualism and oralism have tended to operate from a series of similar, if not always identical, assumptions about the pathological nature of deafness, the need for deaf children to fit into and function in the hearing world, the importance of acquiring English (generally as their vernacular language), and the need and desirability for hearing people to make educational and social decisions on behalf of the deaf. Taken all together, then, what manualism and oralism share is an essentially colonialist mind-set with regard to the education and treatment of the deaf.[63]

Implications for Contemporary Practice

In recent years, the debate between the manualists (most of whom now prefer the term "total communication" [TC] to describe their approach)[64] and the oralists had been complicated by the emergence of a relatively new perspective on deafness and the education of the deaf. Since the 1960s, research on sign language in general, and ASL in particular, has gone a long way toward dispelling many of the traditional myths and prejudices about signing; and related research on the culture of deaf people, and on the nature and operation of the deaf community, has further contributed to the development of alternative ways of understanding deafness.[65] Most significant here has been the rise of the view of the deaf as an oppressed cultural and linguistic minority group in American society. Advocates of this position have argued for the rejection of the pathological view of deafness,[66] and have suggested the viability of bilingual and bicultural programs for deaf children.[67] Such programs would utilize ASL as the means through which English and other subjects could be taught, and the curriculum would reflect a broadly conceived concern with the history and nature of deafness and the deaf community. Further, such programs would entail the recruitment and use of deaf professionals as both teachers of the deaf and program administrators, and would seek the active participation and involvement of the adult deaf community in virtually all aspects of deaf education.[68]

It is interesting to note that this new approach, which would necessarily require the segregation of deaf children from their hearing peers, has emerged at roughly the same time that mainstreaming has become widely accepted. In a sense, what we are now seeing is the development of a somewhat different debate within deaf education, one between those advocating a separate and distinct education for deaf children based on their unique social, cultural and linguistic needs, and those who seek to mainstream deaf children into the regular classroom as a way of ensuring cultural and linguistic conformity. In short, the debate between the assimilationists and the pluralists in American education is coming, although a bit late, to deaf education. It will be interesting to see how this debate will be resolved.

Notes

[1] Jack R. Gannon, *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America* (Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf, 1981), p. 1. See also Edward L. Scouten, *Turning Points in the Education of Deaf People* (Danville, IL: Interstate Printers & Publishers, 1984), pp. 77-83.

[2] See Gannon, *Deaf Heritage*, pp. 16-58.

[3] Donald F. Moores, *Educating the Deaf: Psychology, Principles, and Practices* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1982), pp. 55-58.

[4] Ibid. See also Harlan Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (New York: Random House, 1984), pp. 185-202.

[5] Of considerable interest here is the translation of Sicard's *Cours d'instruction d'un sourd-muet de naissance* published in Harlan Lane, ed., *The Deaf Experience: Classics in Language and Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 83-126.

[6] See Lane, *When the Mind Hears*, pp. 222-251.

[7] See Charlotte Baker and Carol Padden, *American Sign Language: A Look at Its History, Structure and Community* (Silver Spring, MD: T.J. Publishers, 1978), pp. 1-3.

[8] Edward Miner Gallaudet, *History of the College for the Deaf: 1857-1907* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press, 1983), p. 3.

[9] See Richard M. Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate: An Historical Analysis of the Communication Controversy in Education of the Deaf" (unpublished Ed.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1981), pp. 72-73.

[10] See Gallaudet, *History of the College for the Deaf*, pp. 6-11. Also of interest here is E.M. Gallaudet, "A History of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 15 (1912): 1-22.

[11] There is a significant difference between a sign language and a manual code for a spoken language. See Paul W. Ogden and Suzanne Lipsett, *The Silent Garden: Understanding the Hearing Impaired Child* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1982), pp. 109-118; and Jerome D. Schein, *Speaking the Language of Sign: The Art and Science of Signing* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), pp. 64-77.

[12] Edward Gallaudet himself commented that, "in six or seven years congenitally deaf pupils with specially quick and retentive minds, under circumstances uninterruptedly favorable, may acquire a tolerably perfect command of language it is true; but to expect this of the mass is unreasonable." See E.M. Gallaudet, "The American System of Deaf-Mute Instruction: Its Incidental Defects and Their Remedies," *American Annals of the Deaf* 13 (1868): 147-170, quote from p. 151.

[13] E.M. Gallaudet, "The Value of the Sign-Language to the Deaf," *American Annals of the Deaf* 32, 3 (1887): 141-147, quote from p. 143.

[14] Ibid., p. 146.

[15] E.M. Gallaudet, "Must the Sign-Language Go?" *American Annals of the Deaf* 44, 4 (1899): 221-229, quote from p. 225.

[16] Gallaudet, "The Value of the Sign-Language to the Deaf," p. 145.

[17] Quoted in Gallaudet, "Must the Sign-Language Go?" p. 228.

[18] E.M. Gallaudet, "Is the Sign Language Used to Excess in Teaching Deaf-Mutes?" *American Annals of the Deaf* 16 (1871): 26-33, quote from p. 27.

[19] Ibid., p. 30. Italics in original.

[20] Ibid., p. 32.

[21] Gallaudet, "The Value of the Sign Language to the Deaf," p. 147.

[22] Gallaudet, "The American System of Deaf-Mute Instruction," p. 157.

[23] Gallaudet, "The Value of the Sign Language to the Deaf," p. 147.

[24] Gallaudet, "Must the Sign Language Go?" p. 229.

[25] Ibid.

[26] See Robert V. Bruce. *Bell: Alexander Graham Bell and the Conquest of Solitude* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), pp. 13-16.

[27] See Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate," pp. 50-53; and A.G. Bell, "Visible Speech as a Means of Communicating Articulation to Deaf-Mutes," *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 17, 1 (1872): 1-21. It is likely that Bell's father, Alexander Melville Bell, was the model for Professor Pygmalion Higgins in George Bernard Shaw's play, *Pygmalion*. See Arden Neisser, *The Other Side of Silence: Sign Language and the Deaf Community in America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1983), p. 26.

[28] See Lane, *When the Mind Hears*, p. 365.

[29] A.G. Bell, *Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race* (New Haven: National Academy of Sciences, 1883), p. 42.

[30] A.G. Bell, "Fallacies Concerning the Deaf," *American Annals of the Deaf* 29 (1884): 32-69, quote from p. 52.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid., p. 48.

[33] Ibid., p. 49.

[34] Bell, *Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race*, p. 44.

[35] Bell, "Fallacies Concerning the Deaf," p. 60.

[36] Ibid., p. 56.

[37] Bell, *Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race*.

[38] Ibid., p. 41.

[39] Ibid.

[40] Ibid., pp. 41-42.

[41] Ibid., p. 48.

[42] See Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate," pp. 112-142.

[43] Bell, *Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race*, p. 45.

[44] A.G. Bell to David Fairchild (23 November 1908), Bell Papers, Library of Congress. Quoted in Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate," p. 184.

[45] A.G. Bell, "How to Improve the Race," *Journal of Heredity* 5 (1914): 1-7, quote from p. 7.

[46] See Mark H. Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1963), pp. 31-33. Also valuable here is Allan Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus: The Social Costs of the New Scientific Racism* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 2-23.

[47] Lane, *When the Mind Hears*, p. 358.

[48] Chase, *The Legacy of Malthus*, p. 16.

[49] Quoted in Gannon, *Deaf Heritage*, p. 77.

[50] Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate," p. 185.

[51] M.H. Bell to A.G. Bell (9 July 1895), Bell Papers, Library of Congress. Quoted in ibid., p. 221.

[52] Quoted in Lane, *When the Mind Hears*, p. 365.

[53] Ibid.

[54] For an extended analysis of Americanization in public schooling, see Paul C. Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class: A History of Twentieth Century American Education* (Chicago: Rand McNally, 1978), pp. 37-66.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Louis Dembitz Brandeis, "True Americanism," in Perry Miller, ed., *American Thought: Civil War to World War I* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954), pp. 340-341.

[57] See Violas, *The Training of the Urban Working Class*.

[58] See, for example, Heinz Kloss, *The American Bilingual Tradition* (Rowley, MA: Newbury House, 1977).

[59] See Winefield, "Bell, Gallaudet, and the Sign Language Debate," pp. 93-95.

[60] An excellent critique of the pathological view of deafness is provided in James Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven If You Can't Talk With Jesus: On Depathologizing Deafness* (Silver Spring, MD: T.J. Publishers, 1982).

[61] Quoted in Gannon, *Deaf Heritage*, p. 363.

[62] Quoted in Neisser, *The Other Side of Silence*, p. 113.

[63] Of interest here is Martin Carnoy, *Education as Cultural Imperialism* (New York: David McKay, 1974).

[64] See Scouten, *Turning Points in the Education of the Deaf*, pp. 325-365.

[65] See Timothy Reagan, "American Sign Language and Contemporary Deaf Studies in the United States," *Language Problems and Language Planning* 10, 3 (1986): 282-289.

[66] See Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, pp. 75-78.

[67] See, for instance, Timothy Reagan, "The Deaf as a Linguistic Minority: Educational Considerations," *Harvard Educational Review* 55, 3 (1985): 265-277.

[68] Ibid.; see also Woodward, *How You Gonna Get to Heaven*, pp. 21-50.

Part II

THE HISTORY OF EARLY PROGRESSIVE EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Women's Co-ordinate Colleges Amid Male Supremacy: The Death of Delaware Women's College

Robert J. Taggart
University of Delaware

In 1945, the Women's College of the University of Delaware ceased to exist after thirty-one years of successful endeavor, being merged into the coeducational institution. In contrast, two other women's colleges maintained their existence: Douglass College for Women at Rutgers University and Pembroke Women's College in Brown University. The colleges had similar origins as co-ordinate colleges, which had four major characteristics: they (1) shared the same president and trustees with the male college; (2) shared some of the male college's facilities and faculty; (3) maintained their own administration and faculty, and (4) abutted the campus of the male college.

Coordinate women's colleges were a peculiar institution, founded in the east and south after 1890 at a time when coeducation had become common in the rest of the nation.[1] Favored by many educated people of both genders, it was an attempt to correct the dearth of women's higher education in those states without falling into the trap of "manly" coeducation or vocational training many easterners presumed to be the case at midwestern state universities.

Coordinate colleges began when sufficient numbers of people combined into a powerful alliance for institution-building. What proved critical for the continuation of a separate coordinate status, however, was the maintenance of a coalition of women and men dedicated to the growth of the coordinate college, particularly male trustees and administrators. Although there were powerful men in all three institutions who desired to subordinate the female college to the male institution, in all cases but Delaware a coalition of interests succeeded in protecting the independence of the women's coordinate college.

There are certain similarities in how these three women's colleges began. All were in states that had little or no opportunity for women seeking a higher education. New Jersey and Delaware had experiments that had vanished by 1900.[2] Rhode Island had no precedents. All of these women's colleges became attached to well-established men's colleges with colonial origins, whose trustees were not pleased at first about the prospect of having women on or near their campus. All colleges had one or more important male friends that acted as instigators and mentors of the fledgling institution; likewise they had one or more women counterparts who were usually college-educated, and who provided the energetic organization necessary to success. Finally, all the women leaders were given massive support by a group of women's groups that applied pressure to gain initial organization of the colleges, and the financial wherewithal to ensure long-term survival.

Pembroke College for Women, which began in 1891 as Rhode Island College for Women, was attached to an Ivy League institution, Brown University. Pembroke began with a long negotiation period with lukewarm trustees of the male college by an assertive woman who demanded higher education for women. President Ezekial G. Robinson of Brown, publicly supported a women's institution in a "distinct but appended college."[3] The Rhode Island Woman's Suffrage Association had talked with Brown trustees for two decades knowing that several Quaker trustees would listen. Various women's clubs banded together in discussions with Brown trustees. But it was Brown President E. Benjamin Andrews and Ms. Sarah G. Doyle who brought Pembroke to life.

President Andrews refused to wait for the divided trustees to accept a full coordinate women's college. Instead, he extracted the right of local women to take examinations for Brown degrees in 1891, and then found teachers, buildings, and funds to open in 1892 with forty-five students. He hosted a tea in 1895 where a College Fund Committee organized a drive to construct the initial permanent building, Pembroke Hall.[4] Under Andrews' direction, the Corporation agreed in 1896 to establish "a department of the University to be known as the Women's College in Brown University" under the immediate charge of a dean and the general direction of the president.[5] The next year President Andrews appointed an Advisory Council for the Women's College, a board of lady visitors, to strengthen the institution. All of the Council's members were members of the Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women, including Mrs. Benjamin Andrews, in deference to the extraordinary work of that organization. Sarah Doyle was chairperson, as she had been the leader of the women's forces.[6]

The Women's College in Brown University, as it was known until 1928, had many attributes. Besides a friendly president at Brown and strong women's groups to assist college development, Brown's board of trustees insisted upon institutional separation by gender. The Corporation (trustees) voted in 1903 to maintain a "distinct faculty" for the Women's College, authorizing a separate Executive Committee on the Women's College to control all but the standards of admission and graduation. Although these were not women, the committee members included the dean, president, and three University trustees, providing a legitimate mechanism for Pembroke's separateness from the University.[7]

Women's College faculty maintained their separation from Brown as they gave identical but separate courses, examinations, and degrees from Brown. The Corporation strengthened the 1903 provision in 1920, stating that the "distinct faculty shall have control of academic matters within the Women's College," and specifically provided teachers "whose entire work shall be at the Women's College."[8] This important action replaced the previous position in which there were few faculty above Instructor rank who taught at the Women's College only. As it worked out, the Women's College had the best of both worlds: largely independent in administrative matters, but at financial cost to the parent institution, because Brown paid for all faculty, while the Women's College covered only salaries of its administrators until the 1930's. Thus, the tuition could be lower than at Brown, though still expensive by public university standards. The Women's College also got its own catalog and personnel office by the late twenties, gaining control over admissions.[9]

This increase in power by the Women's College relative to Brown occurred because RIC's excellent students were a credit to the University. The college grew to 203 by 1905 and 450 by 1927, even while raising academic standards to admit only the upper fifth of high school graduates. By the 1920's, the Women's College graduated more students with Distinction than Brown, relative to size, and it had its own branch of Phi Beta Kappa. With pride, the college changed its name to Pembroke College in 1928 to make it clear to outsiders that women were in a full college and yet in a separate institution.[10] The next year, Pembroke broke with its original vocational ties by dropping both its home economics and education degrees. Of course many graduates continued to be teachers, but at the secondary level which required liberal arts training.

Such a steady improvement of Pembroke became possible because of a series of four strong deans: Louis F. Snow, Anne C. Emery, Lida Shaw King, and Margaret Shove Morris. The last two served in combination from 1905 to 1950, gaining both an expansion of Brown courses open to women, and a stronger Pembroke College. They achieved the latter by adding more faculty to Pembroke so that there were seventy professors serving 500 students by 1940, and by enriching college life. From the second decade of the College's existence, the deans had succeeded in founding numerous organizations open to all students, a desire of the students themselves.[11]

Women's groups made a vast difference in these endeavors. The Rhode Island Society for the Collegiate Education of Women provided large amounts of scholarships and loans until the University took such funds over in 1943; it provided an endowment fund; bought the site for the gymnasium; provided furnishings to dormitories, as well as funds for art, lectures and musical programs; gave receptions for students and met with the student organizations to determine how they might assist them. The Alumnae Association was a partner with the Rhode Island Society.

providing numerous gifts of money and furnishings. The corporation encouraged this aid when they granted alumnae representation on the Advisory Council for the Women's College. Soon there were alumnae clubs in several cities, and an *Alumnae Record* magazine to retain the ties of former students to the college.[12]

The women's groups and a few wealthy male friends had combined to support not only Pembroke Hall, but several renovated houses used as dormitories, and three new buildings: Miller, Metcalf, and Alumnae Hall. The latter building provided a place for an enriched social life, a proper library, plays, and alumnae meetings.[13] None of this should be interpreted to mean that women and their groups had equality with men in the University's administration. In 1927, for instance, the Women's College had 1,500 graduates to Brown's 5,000, and yet there were fourteen alumni on the trustees and only two alumnae on the Advisory Council for the Women's College. Also, no woman was yet a trustee, but the Corporation did allow one woman on the Executive Committee of the Woman's College.

Despite the lack of overt female power within the corporation, the trustees were willing to let the Women's College alone as long as it held its own financially. So when the Corporation decided in the thirties to increase efficiency by deemphasizing separateness, Pembroke was strong enough to maintain its traditions and relative independence.[14] As the thirties and forties went on, more women took courses "on the Hill" with men, the men began entering Pembroke's classes if they had schedule conflicts, and men shared their extracurricular activities with women in the theater, literary magazines, and radio station. But Pembroke maintained its traditions. Dean Nancy Duke Lewis (1950-61) "resisted domination" in the 1950s, assisted by Brown President Barnaby C. Keeney who believed that too many joint activities might ruin the coordinate relationship that he wished to maintain. In fact, most women students agreed with him, because women seldom had the highest offices in joint organizations. By 1960, there were four new dormitories for Pembroke, and the women's campus became more identifiable as the Corporation closed Cushing Street through campus to unify the Women's College grounds. Pembroke had held its own very well as it reached 1000 students.[15]

Douglass College for Women at Rutgers also would survive as a strong coordinate institution. But unlike Pembroke it was a creature of the state, meaning that its numerous friends had to lobby not only the Rutgers Trustees, but the legislature to authorize the New Jersey College for Women (NJC). As in Rhode Island, women's groups had demanded higher education for women for several decades. Only short-lived experiments such as Evelyn College at Princeton during the 1890's had served women in the state, and by 1911 New Jersey was the only northern state except Delaware without public university education for women leading to a bachelor's degree.[16] At that time, the president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs asked Mabel S. Douglass, a Barnard graduate, to speak on the issue.

Mrs. Douglass organized the Federation in an arduous dual campaign to obtain approval from the Rutgers Trustees and the legislature. Fortunately, the Smith-Hughes Act passed in 1917, giving funds to land-grant universities including Rutgers to train home economics teachers, and a large estate became available for a women's campus. Therefore, the Rutgers' board overcame its ambivalence in 1918, having been promised by Mrs. Douglass and President William H. F. Demarest that a coordinate college would not drain their limited resources.[17] Mrs. Douglass then alerted the many local Women's clubs, D.A.R.'s, Mother's Congress, Colonial Dames, W.C.T.U., Suffrage and Anti-Suffrage Leagues to join her in lobbying for state funds. After a visit to their newly opened but furnaceless house by a committee, the legislature granted a $50,000 appropriation. For the next decade, Mrs. Douglass used her coalition to prod the legislature so that New Jersey College might prosper. The college's "peculiar relation" to the state provided independence from Rutgers in practice, as they received a lump-sum annual appropriation without being held fully accountable for the use of those funds.[18]

The Rutgers trustees rewarded Mabel Douglass for her efforts by naming her the first Dean. NJC became an extension of her personality as she remained in charge for the first fourteen years. She worked in tandem with a Board of Managers which enjoyed almost complete control over the college and with Leonor Loree, Wall Street financier, who was a Trustee for both Rutgers and NJC. Loree and other men protected NJC from Rutgers' encroachments, while managing the Women's College so much like a business that official surpluses occurred each year. Unfortunately, surpluses came at the price of gross underpayment to faculty, huge loans from Rutgers for dormitories, and secrecy from the state lest their appropriations be cut. One critical scholar suggests that the success of NJC was due to "irregular methods, defiant attitudes, and dubious fiscal practices."[19] But the Loree-Douglas duo maintained an enviable autonomy for NJC from Rutgers University, matched only by the College of Agriculture within the University.

Dean Douglass deliberately encouraged a trend toward autonomy from Rutgers. While just five of the original sixteen faculty were appointed to the Women's College alone, by 1932 only three Rutgers faculty still served on the staff of more than eighty. The turning point came when Dean Douglass convinced the Trustees' committee in 1927 to hire thirteen experienced faculty with salaries ranging up to $5,000.[20]

New Jersey College tried to offer the best of both worlds: a strong liberal arts education, favored by the college-educated women sponsors of the college and demanded by Rutgers Trustees, and a vocational emphasis upon home economics and education. However, there was no Education (B.Ed.) degree offered; for that women could attend state normal schools.[21] NJC graduates tended to teach in state high schools, a fortunate occurrence, as these loyal alumnae were in an ideal position to recruit New Jersey high school seniors for the college. With the extensive recruitment offered both formally from the campus and informally through the Associate Alumnae and friends, the college grew rapidly from fifty-four students to 1,023 in the first decade, seventy percent as large as Rutgers College.[22]

The able assistance of important friends enabled the college to gain land and housing sufficient for steady growth. In a form reminiscent of Smith College fifty years earlier, the college constructed a series of small houses holding twelve to twenty students each. Placed in semicircles around a large central building, NJC constructed fifty-six houses by 1928. It was fortuitous that the college grew when it did as the prosperous twenties made mortgage money available for the project, though land and funds given by trustees James Neilson, Edwin Jameson and Leonor F. Loree made the plan possible.[23]

In 1928, the legislature increased its control over state-aided Rutgers University by placing a Board of Regents over the institution. In the reorganization, NJC became listed as one of the "co-ordinate and constituent colleges" of the University, along with the College of Agriculture, Arts and Science, and Engineering. This protected NJC from the threats of Rutgers President John M. Thomas (1925-30) and various trustees who were displeased with what they perceived to be overemphasis on physical expansion at the cost of academic excellence. In response, NJC authorities strengthened academic standards until most students were from the top quarter of their high school graduating class.[24] Dean Douglass accepted the tighter administrative controls to retain public financial support while remaining part of Rutgers as an affiliated college, which provided NJC with its own faculty, administration, and budget. In this successful strategy, she received full support of the State Federation of Women's Clubs, which sent a resolution to Rutgers' Trustees demanding the maintenance of substantial autonomy of NJC. Though state action gave final authority over NJC fiscal matters to the Rutgers' Trustees by the late thirties, the Women's College maintained control over its own curricular and student matters.

When Dean Douglass' health forced her retirement, new Dean Margaret Corwin found the overall situation reassuring. Despite the Depression, NJC still had about 900 students, its own faculty, administrative control over its curriculum, and an active college life for students. Also, the difficult President Thomas had left, replaced by Robert Clothier with whom Dean Corwin worked amiably for the next two decades. President Clothier served as the Chairman of the Trustees Committee on the Women's College. The dean also kept in close touch with her power base, the Alumnae Association and the State Federation of Women's Clubs. She needed her friends, as several Rutgers trustees and other New Jersey citizens wanted to remove the Agriculture, Engineering, and Women's Colleges from the university to a new State institution joined to teacher education.[25]

NJC had a life of its own, as rich as any other women's college, which kept its identity separate from Rutgers. Dean Douglass chose two women to operate a Department of Student Life in 1926, which provided a network of women on the three dormitory campuses to serve as counsellors and liasons between students and faculty. She supported a variety of student activities, including a stimulating cultural life. Being close to New York City, students enjoyed a fascinating parade of speakers: Vachel Lindsay, Sherwood Anderson, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Vida Scudder, and Will Durant; Eleanor Roosevelt and Reinhold Niebuhr talked several times each. Students controlled their own activity funds as of 1935, and maintained a successful honor system from 1923 into the sixties. Student life was filled with dramatics, journalism, and social gatherings, and carried on almost separate from Rutgers men, who often did not want women's participation anyway.[26]

After World War II, NJC grew stronger. The state resolved in 1945 to make all of Rutgers the State University. As a result, promotion and salary increments, rank and benefits became regularized for NJC faculty in common with Rutgers faculty. Enrollment climbed steadily from 1,000 in 1945 to 1,300 in 1955. The final crisis came in 1954. The Trustees considered merging NJC into the University. Once again, the NJC dean rallied the Associate Alumnae and the State Federation of Women's Clubs, including the mother of the state governor. The Trustees again backed down, agreeing that the Women's College had certain distinct functions which it could perform effectively only with a secure position of autonomy within the university structure.[27]

As if in celebration, and after years of discussion, the Trustees' Committee for the Women's College recommended that NJC be renamed Douglass College in honor of its founder. The University Trustees approved it and the name changed in April 1955. So when the Trustees and legislature amended the old colonial charter in 1956 to create a new controlling body named the Board of Governors, making Rutgers a public corporation, Douglass College became a full partner of a State concern. Expansion of the campus continued rapidly. By 1965, 2,600 students enrolled at Douglass, four-fifths of whom were in the top ten percent of their high school graduating class.[28]

The women's colleges discussed so far all had certain characteristics in common: a strong woman who organized a coalition of women's clubs with male allies to negotiate with and convince the trustees of the male colleges to allow a woman's coordinate college to be affiliated with them; outstanding women deans who developed the institution into a viable college; funds sufficient for the campus to grow to a size able to maintain a high degree of independence from the adjacent male college; an agreement with the male college to maintain that independence; and an academically-strong student body. The Women's College of Delaware (WCD) had all of these characteristics in its early years.

Opened in 1914, WCD affiliated itself with a college neither as old, as wealthy, nor as large as Brown or Rutgers. Though Newark Academy came to the town in the 1760s, its trustees waited until 1833 to get a charter for New Ark College, a liberal arts Presbyterian institution. It closed in 1859 as Delaware College, and reopened as a land-grant school in 1870. The college was coeducational from 1872 to 1886, after which time Delaware women had no place to gain higher education within the state.[29] The legislature held the key. Delaware College's charter had to be renewed in 1909, so the Grangers, wanting more agricultural education and women's education, forced temporary charter renewals in 1909 and 1911. Meanwhile, state Senator Everett Johnson of Newark introduced a resolution directing the State Board of Education to consider women's higher education.[30]

President Harter of Delaware College opposed coeducation because he believed his college lacked the resources to provide well for both genders, but he did support an affiliated college nearby, "in which women could get instruction in any subject and in any degree that is offered to the men." He meant women to have their own dormitories and gymnasium, but to be "united in recitation" and laboratories so as not to spread funds too thin for the state-aided institution.[31]

By 1912, there was a well-organized coalition working towards acceptance of a women's coordinate college a few blocks south of the men's campus: President Harter; Harry Hayward, Dean of the College of Agriculture who favored training of home economics teachers; Everett Johnson of Newark; Dr. George W. Twitmyer, President of the State Board of Education; and Mrs. Emalea P. Warner, past president of the State Federation of Women's Clubs. During the year, Twitmyer and Hayward visited such colleges as Radcliffe and Brown, and helped to work out an agreement whereby the Delaware College Trustees accepted the State Board of Education's proposal in January 1913 to have a separate campus for women, with at least two buildings and eight faculty, half of whom were to be women.[32] The coalition also held a large public meeting at the Dover New Century Club to convince the legislature to provide state funding. Dean Lida Shaw King of Pembroke advocated women's education in hearings before the state Senate. Finally the bond bill passed and the Governor signed it, 31 March, 1913.[33] The state appointed a Women's College Commission which bought a twenty acre farm on the south edge of town, having acquired the right of eminent domain as a state institution, and a subcommittee chose a dean.[34]

In nominating Winifred J. Robinson, the subcommittee succeeded in their goal of choosing "a woman of liberal learning, adequate experience, and undoubted character and ability to organize. . . ."[35] Dr. Robinson had a strong academic background in biology with degrees from Michigan and Columbia, scientific research completed in several places, and experience as a teacher and administrator at Vassar and Wisconsin. Nicknamed "Queenie" for her regal, authoritarian manner, she came to Newark early in 1914 when an unpaved road led down to the Women's College campus: one wall standing on a muddy, abandoned farm. Though she had doubts about the institution, she quickly befriended Mrs. Warner, and they toured the state to meet clubwomen and seniors of every high school. She also hired four women faculty.[36]

In May 1914 the Delaware College Board of Trustees created a Committee of the Women's College to oversee WCD affairs, and an Advisory Council of five women, which lacked a vote. Dean Robinson was to meet with the College Board regularly and to have a voice in the appointment of faculty who would teach at WCD. There was also an Academic Council of all faculty who taught at WCD, presided over by the president, not Dean Robinson except in his absence. Though WCD was a creature of the state, as was the NJC for Women, the Trustees of Delaware College were not about to let their Women's College have the same autonomy as did Rutgers. Also, there was no James Neilson, Leonor Loree, or President Demarest at Delaware College; rather, brand-new President Samuel C. Mitchell, whose inauguration took place on the same day as that of Dean Robinson, and who was preoccupied with Delaware College affairs. Much of WCD's independence would depend on the new Dean's personal strength rather than trustee policy or protection of rich, powerful, and benign males within the administration.[37]

It wasn't that WCD didn't have friends, as many sent gifts. Every affiliate of the State Federation of Women's Clubs sent furnishings or books, as did Governor Miller, industrialists William P. Bancroft and Alfred D. Warner and their wives. Two women gave 700 books and furniture for a browsing room, and the bequest of Dr. Twitmyer provided 2,000 books for a nascent library. So it was with great enthusiasm that WCD opened in September 1914 with fifty-eight freshman women, as many students as would enter the new NJC four years later. These fifty-eight came largely in response to the splendid recruiting effort of Dean Robinson and Mrs. Warner, a tough assignment in a state with few good high schools.[38]

WCD divided itself into three major courses of study: liberal arts, home economics, and education. The obvious vocational bent included not only the four year degrees in all three areas, but two-year programs in home economics and education. Though home economics ended the two year program by 1918, education majors could take the two year program until 1932, an admission of the state's extreme need for elementary teachers and the fact that the state only had WCD to train them, unlike New Jersey or Rhode Island.[39]

WCD, desperate to draw students, kept expenses low. The great majority paid no tuition, being Delaware residents, and just $200 annual room and board. The State Federation of Women's Clubs provided a fund that loaned some $26,000 to students over thirty years; Pierre S. du Pont and two of his brothers provided half-scholarships for teacher education students; and many worked in the dining hall for ten cents an hour.[40]

In the early years, WCD kept growing in physical facilities. The legislature authorized a second dormitory in 1918. Two years later, after the legislature rejected further bond issues for the college, the philanthropy of Pierre S. du Pont again helped when his Delaware School Auxiliary Association (DSAA) expended more than $52,000 to construct two "temporary" frame buildings for twenty-two women each; built another dwelling in 1923; tripled the capacity of the commons in Warner Hall; constructed most of Kent Dining Hall; and bought a "Practice House" for home economics majors. Pierre du Pont was generous so that Delaware might have an adequate trained teaching corps. Unfortunately, only a tiny fraction of the state's demand for teachers was met by the Women's College.[41]

Meanwhile, WCD developed a social life distinct from the male college. Dean Robinson, a proper Victorian lady, established strict rules reminiscent of older seminaries, such as restriction of male visitors to Friday, and chaperones on "automobiling" trips, after parental permission in writing. However, WCD had a student government the opening semester that ensured a viable honor system, many clubs encompassing dramatics, music, journalism, international relations, and departmental interests, and a YWCA chapter that enrolled almost everyone. With a rich social life in the small community, WCD maintained a collegiality typical of other women's colleges. Dean Robinson insisted on retaining this loyalty to the broader institution by banning all sororities.[42]

In the 1915-17 period, the Trustees of Delaware College centralized power under a new "Dean of Delaware College" which would eventually provide a major challenge to WCD autonomy. E. Lawrence Smith, in charge of Arts and Science courses, served as chief executive when President Mitchell left campus, as he often did. Robinson, fearing a loss of power, asked President Hullihen to recommend to the Trustees that "the Dean of the Women's College should be regarded as the President of the Women's College" whenever he was absent from campus.[43] He ignored her suggestion. Dean Smith also gained priority over the teaching of agriculture courses, eroding the previously unchallenged power of the Dean of Agriculture. Dean Robinson kept her autonomy from Dean Smith, but the stage was set for a later confrontation. In addition, the Trustees improved financial management of the institution by appointing a Business Manager to disburse all accounts, though he had to secure Dean Robinson's approval on WCD matters.[44]

Like NJC for Women, WCD depended on the male campus for many faculty at first. WCD had its own departments only in physical education, art, home economics, biology, and chemistry, though the latter included Dr. Quaesita Drake, a University of Chicago-trained scholar and Dean Robinson's loyal supporter.[45] Delaware College shared the departments of math, history, English, and modern languages with WCD, the practical effect of which was to allow domination by males not fully in Dean Robinson's control. The lack of a complete faculty in all subject areas at WCD retarded the development of a truly independent women's college. Under new President Walter Hullihen, Delaware College and WCD became the University of Delaware in 1921, despite the presence of just 302 male and 179 female students. Hullihen insisted he only wanted to end the confusion of a Women's College subject to the president and Trustees of male-only Delaware College, and that was a coordinate rather than separate institution. He also wanted to increase the college's prestige, draw better students and faculty, and provide a broad foundation for the future.[46]

The next year the Trustees formally appointed the Arts and Science dean to be dean of Delaware College, and thus in control of academic matters. A few months later, that dean gained the additional title of Registrar, thus assuring the primacy of Delaware College over WCD in certain administrative matters. Within the University, there was now an incongruous administration: Delaware College had a dean of each of its three schools, while WCD had a single dean for its three divisions. Dean Robinson remained imperious in the face of adversity. She controlled all women faculty, leaving the dean of Delaware College to defend male faculty who taught at WCD from her stern rule.[47]

The legislature met some of WCD's desperate need for space by approving New Castle Hall dormitory, Kent Dining Hall, and then a women's gymnasium at the end of the decade. But there the state's largesse ended because the state's public schools and other functions also needed funds. Meanwhile, Delaware College's physical plant expanded because of generous private gifts, including the forty acre central campus and most of the major buildings, such as the Memorial Library (1923) and Mitchell Auditorium (1929). These structures were on the south edge of the men's campus, and being designed for use by both colleges, made more difficult the separateness of WCD from Delaware College.

To maintain WCD's ability to grow as a unique entity, Dean Robinson fought for two new buildings: a social center with room for departments of art and music, and a classroom-laboratory building. She got neither one. The legislature approved $210,000 in 1931 for the classroom structure, but the governor vetoed the bill fearing financial problems for the state in the worsening Depression. All later expansions of art, music, social activities, classrooms and laboratories were open to both genders. The two campuses became less distinct as the thirties wore on.[48]

Despite the governor's veto of 1931, WCD looked strong. It had 294 students compared to 443 in Delaware College. Most students lived on campus, and there were varied activities for women. However, there were thirteen percent less women students than in 1926/27, and the lack of residence and social activity space placed a cap on the size of WCD.[49] The Trustees further hindered WCD's recruiting ability in 1932 by limiting out of state students to one-fifth of the student body.[50] More important, the University had an extreme need for economy with the onset of the Depression, a need already apparent in the twenties. Small classes of ten to fifteen being the rule because of the duplication in courses offered by the two colleges meant that faculty had heavy contact hours, little time for graduate instruction or research, and inefficiencies of the type against which Leonor Loree fought so hard at New Jersey College. As a result, faculty salaries at Delaware did not keep up with that at other universities, causing high turnover.

A group of faculty wrote an AAUP Report in 1930 which called for greater economies in instruction, including a limited degree of coeducation in upper division classes and laboratories. The Women's College fought back. As a circular letter from a WCD faculty member stated: "All of the women members of the faculty of the Women's College are earnestly opposed" to the AAUP proposal because: 1. Women are passive in combined classes; 2. Men dominate extracurricular activities; 3. Young women at WCD are immature and benefit from women faculty living with them in dormitories; 4. Young women need female role models, but few women would rise above the instructor rank at a coeducational university; 5. Subject matter is "necessarily different" for the two genders; and 6. There would be only small economies by combining upper division classes, which were small seminars.[51] The WCD won this round, but many Delaware College faculty stood opposed to the complete separation of classes by gender.

Graduate education also suffered because of undergraduate course duplication. President Hullihen appointed Professor Wilber O. Sypherd as chair of a committee to study how to improve the situation. Discussion led again to coeducation, as most graduate work was in the summer school, which had always been coeducational since it began in 1913.[52] But Dean Robinson always argued that undergraduate education must be more holistic than graduate work so that young women could be shaped into adults. The Women's College apparently succeeded in this aspect. As a retired WCD faculty member stated, the WCD was "a genuine community. . . . Students and faculty saw each other every day: we lived together, worked together, and often played together."[53] Despite the women's arguments, the Trustees permitted coeducation in graduate and extension courses in 1937.[54]

There were other attacks on the separateness of WCD during the thirties. President Hullihen convinced the Trustees to remove the last two words from the official title "Women's College of Delaware" to make it clear WCD was not an independent college. Professor Sypherd, chair of several important committees, proposed a common social center for both colleges, and opening of laboratories to both genders in the new chemistry building. An editorial in *The Review* campus newspaper advocated coeducation outright following a resolution favoring it by the Delaware College Student Council, while the *Alumni News* attacked "the mid-

Victorian ideas of the authorities concerning the segregation of the sexes."[55] What hurt most, though, was the lack of new dormitories for the WCD. Having grown to 321 students in 1926/27 compared to Delaware College's 377, WCD shrunk to 281 by 1931/32 and grew slowly during the thirties while the male college jumped to 581 by 1941. Though more than half of Delaware College's students commuted, the men found it easier to live in Newark as they had six fraternity houses and approved rooming houses, unlike the women.[56] Dean Robinson's distaste for rooming houses helped to doom WCD to a static student population, unlike Pembroke.

Unlike the other women's colleges in this paper, WCD had few powerful or wealthy friends to provide funds and protection during adverse times. The Federation of Women's Clubs provided student financial aid and small gifts to the college, but could do no more. The Alumnae Association, formed in 1918 by the original graduating class, did what it could, having a part-time executive secretary by 1928. But the university administration did not help the organization to develop. On the contrary, they forbade the separate publication of brochures by either alumni group. The alumnae organization had to content itself with two of the six annual issues of *University News* magazine. Alumnae began raising funds through an annual campaign by 1937, but there was never enough surplus to assist in the physical expansion of WCD. The University did not even give a room on campus to the Alumnae Association. At the same time, wealthy alumni Rodney Sharp supported an Alumni Association office with a permanent executive secretary. The Trustees also appointed alumni regularly to their body from 1926 until 1934; the first alumnae representative came in 1937.[57]

To stem the tide toward coeducation, Dean Robinson had Chancellor Charles M. Curtis, chairperson of the Trustees' Advisory Committee on the Women's College ask the Board of Trustees to allow her to attend full board meetings. She argued that her position differed from that of the other three deans due to her greater responsibility. The motion failed, Trustee Judge Hugh M. Morris stating that since the two colleges were of equal rank, neither dean should be given priority. Besides, he saw the university as "an integrated whole and its chief executive . . . as much president of the Women's College as of Delaware College."[58]

When Dean Robinson retired in 1938, her successor Dr. Marjory S. Golder would have the nonenviable task of maintaining WCD as a separate college without expectation of increased facilities for sole use by women students. Dean Robinson had failed to convince President Hullihen to support a new classroom building for the WCD. Instead, he insisted that the new classroom building be used by both colleges because "the people of Delaware have a right to expect the University administration to utilize facilities as best it can."[59] Though Hullihen and the Trustees reaffirmed the separate status of the Women's College, they made that separation less tenable by their actions of the late thirties.

An institutional survey of 1938 also favored abandonment of sex segregation in upper division classes as well as a reorganization of the University into six colleges, each with its own dean, which would have destroyed most of the separateness of WCD as well as its dean.[60] Upper division classes did become coeducational in 1938, made more viable by the new University Hall classroom building in 1940. Then the Trustees agreed that men and women underclass students could be combined in any small classes during the war. Finally, a Committee to Study the Salary Scale went far beyond its named task during the war and recommended wholesale reorganization of the University. Most of the Women's College courses became part of the Arts and Science College under the auspices of its dean. There was a new School of Education with its own dean, and a division of home economics. By 1945, home economics also had a dean, and the Dean of Women became little more than a counselor, since most academic control had been stripped away from her. In effect, the Women's College of Delaware had died.[61]

Notes

[1] Mabel Newcomer, *A Century of Higher Education for American Women* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), 40, 50 note 3.

[2] George P. Schmidt, *Douglass College: A History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1968), 5; John A. Munroe, *The University of Delaware: A History* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1986), 133-34, 147-49.

[3] Walter C. Bronson, *History of Brown University, 1764-1914* (New York: Arno Press, 1971), reprint of 1914 edition, 452; Grace E. Hawk, *Pembroke College in Brown University: The First Seventy-Five Years, 1891-1966* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1967), 21, citing the 1886 *Annual Report of The President*, 17.

[4] Hawk, *Pembroke College*, 24.

[5] Bronson, *History of Brown University*, 457.

[6] Ibid., 486; Hawk, *Pembroke College*, 28.

[7] Hawk, *Pembroke College*, 43.

[8] Ibid., 111.

[9] Ibid., 112, 132. Estimated annual expenses by 1928 ranged between $922 and $1056 for women on campus.

[10] Ibid., 45, 128, 132, 148, 203, 288, note 30.

[11] Ibid., 75-77, 125.

[12] Ibid., 64, 91-92, 96-97.

[13] Ibid., 97-98, 128.

[14] Ibid., 145-46, 165.

[15] Ibid., 172-73, 178, 212-13, 225-26, 239.

[16] Schmidt, *Douglass College*, 5.

[17] Richard P. McCormick, *Rutgers: A Bicentennial History* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1966), 170.

[18] Schmidt, *Douglass College*, 61; McCormick, *Rutgers*, 173.

[19] McCormick, *Rutgers*, 171-72, 212.

[20] Schmidt, *Douglass College*, 52-54.

[21] Ibid., 55, 114.

[22] Ibid., 49, 83; McCormick, *Rutgers*, 230 note.

[23] Schmidt, *Douglass College*, 50-51.

[24] Ibid., 105. The Women's College had its own Committee on Admissions and the Underclass Years, chaired by the Assistant to the Dean.

[25] Ibid., 79, 86, 88.

[26] Ibid., 120-21, 127, 140, 170.

[27] Ibid., 162, 171-72, 175-76, 209.

[28] Ibid., 195-96, 198, 200-05, 209.

[29] Winifred J. Robinson, "History of the Women's College of the University of Delaware, 1914-38," *Delaware Notes*, 20 (1947): 5.

[30] Delaware, *House Journal*, 1911, 637.

[31] Speech to Wilmington New Century Club, *Wilmington Morning News*, 11 November 1910; Harter to Mrs. Emalea P. Warner, 2 February 1912 in Warner Scrapbook 1, University Archives.

[32] Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 201; Trustees' minutes, 28 January 1913, University Archives.

[33] (Wilmington) *Every Evening*, 25 January 1913, 1 April 1913; Delaware, *Laws*, 1913, vol. 27:301-02.

[34] The Commission represented the major public and private interests involved: the governor, a state senator, a state representative, state board of education, Delaware College trustees, and State Federation of Women's Clubs. Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 205.

[35] President's Report [January 1914], in William D. Lewis, item 1913-35, University Archives.

[36] Robinson. "History of the Women's College." 21.

[37] Munroe. *University of Delaware*. 208; Robinson. "History of the Women's College. University of Delaware." in Henry C. Reed, ed., *Delaware. A History of the First State* (New York: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., 1947), vol. 2:724.

[38] Robinson. "History of the Women's College." *Delaware Notes*. 66-68. (Wilmington) *Every Evening*. 25 November 1914. There were only 204 high school graduates in the state in 1918. Delaware. *Annual Report of the State Board of Education*. 1919/1920 (Wilmington: Star Pub. Co., 1921). 88.

[39] Monroe. *University of Delaware*. 225. Most of the two year education graduates eventually gained B.S. degrees through summer school attendance.

[40] Mrs. William H. Beacom. "The Delaware State Federation of Women's Clubs." in H.C. Reed. *Delaware. A History*. vol. 2:734.

[41] See chapter five of my book. *Private Philanthropy and Public Education: Pierre S. du Pont and the Delaware Schools, 1890-1940* (Newark. University of Delaware Press. 1987). for detailed discussion of philanthropic assistance to the Women's College. The three "temporary" dormitories were used until 1956.

[42] Robinson. "History of the Women's College." *Delaware Notes*. 53-57. 59-61; Christine M. Smith. "The Women's College of Delaware. 1919-1931" (term paper. 1981). University Archives.

[43] Winifred J. Robinson to Walter Hullihen. 16 May 1923. Hullihen Papers. University Archives.

[44] Trustees' minutes. 5 March. 8 June. and 14 September 1918. University Archives.

[45] Dr. Drake also served as president of the AAUW of Delaware. 1924-26. Alice L.B. Tanberg. *History and Background of the Wilmington Branch. American Association of University Women* (Wilmington. 1944). 33.

[46] Walter Hullihen to Charles B. Evans. 3 February 1921 in Lewis. University Archives. item 1921-6; W. Hullihen to H. R. Sharp. 3 February 1921. Sharp Papers. University Archives; Trustees' minutes. 19 February 1921. Delaware. *Laws*. vol. 32:552.

[47] Trustees' minutes. 18 February. 1922. University Archives; Munroe. *University of Delaware*. 248.

[48] *President's Report*. 1930/31. 8. 9. 32; Munroe. *University of Delaware*. 248.

[49] *President's Report*. 1926/27. p. 4. and *President's Report*. 1930/31. pp. 5-6.

[50] Trustees' minutes. 30 April 1932.

[51] Jeannette Graustein to Walter Hullihen and Trustees. 8 December 1932. Hullihen Papers. University Archives.

[52] Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 293.

[53] Anna J. DeArmond, "The Women's College: A Backward Glance," *Blue Hen Messenger* 6 (July 1982): 5.

[54] Trustees' minutes, 5 June 1937.

[55] *Alumni News*, May 1934, 10.

[56] See *President's Report* for 1926/27, 1931/32, and 1941/42.

[57] Trustees' minutes, 15 May 1938; Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 307-8.

[58] Hugh M. Morris to Emalea P. Warner, 10 June 1937, Hullihen Papers, University Archives.

[59] Walter Hullihen to Alexander J. Taylor, 20 January 1937, Hullihen Papers, University Archives.

[60] Trustees' minutes, 4 January 1938; *Report of Survey Commission*, 1938, in Hullihen Papers, University Archives.

[61] Munroe, *University of Delaware*, 334, 336.

A Note concerning Lester Frank Ward and Progressive Education

Ronald E. Rutkowski
Loyola University of Chicago

The judgment rendered by historians concerning the relationship between Lester Frank Ward (1841-1913) and the Progressive Education movement is curious. Opinion is divided along three lines. First, Lawrence A. Cremin and Clifford H. Scott have recognized Ward as a precursor to the Progressive Education movement. Second, scholars fail to consider Ward's educational theory and its relation to progressive educators. The work of Patricia Albjerg Graham is an example. Finally, Samuel Chugerman and Elsa Peverly Kimball appreciate the value of Ward's educational theory, but they do not relate Ward's theory to the Progressive Education movement.[1] Has evidence been overlooked?

The question assumes more importance in light of the fact that Lawrence A. Cremin and Patricia Albjerg Graham have cited themes common to the Progressive Education movement. Ward's educational theory shares with Cremin and Graham the following points: the need for a new and socially relevant curriculum, concern for the school as an agent of social reconstruction, and sensitivity to the moral aspect of education.[2] The fact that Ward's educational theory enrolls such themes makes a review of his educational program worthwhile.

Ward's seminal work, *Dynamic Sociology*, outlines his theory of education. Before we examine Ward's educational program, an account of Ward's life and sociological theory is in order. Ward's life and sociological theory afford us the vantage point from which we can appreciate his educational theory. Let us begin with a summary of the important events within Ward's life.

Lester Frank Ward was the last of ten children born to Andrew and Silence Rolph-Ward on June 18, 1841. Joliet, Illinois was then home to Andrew and Silence. Andrew Ward was a poor man. Nevertheless, his ancestry possessed wealth. Andrew claimed that he was a descendant of Justus Ward who sailed to America with John Winthrop. Justus Ward was believed to have bequeathed to his heirs a large estate. The estate evaporated by the time Andrew was born.

Silence Rolph brought a small dowry to Andrew. Silence's father was a doctor who had a small practice in the country. Although her dowry was small, Silence was rich in culture and Christian piety. She brought stability to the Ward family.

A large family and financial need forced Andrew to seek employment offered anywhere. Itinerancy defined the early years of Lester Frank

Ward. Lester Frank did not have much opportunity for formal education. Silence's library funded much of Lester Frank's early education. He learned Latin, Greek, French, and German with his mother's help. Lester Frank's fondness for farms and fields fueled an interest in the natural sciences, especially geology and botany. Compassion for the unlettered blossomed from Lester Frank's love of learning. He taught for one summer term before joining the Union army.

In 1862 Lester Frank enlisted in the Union army as a member of the Pennsylvania Volunteers. Five days prior to enlistment he married his childhood sweetheart, Elizabeth Vought. Ward served for twenty-seven months. He suffered three wounds during the Battle of Chancellorsville. His courage in battle merited a medal of commendation. The years following discharge from military service marked the rise of Lester Frank Ward among American intellectuals.

Ward obtained a clerical position with the United States Treasury after a brief period of unemployment. In 1867 Ward entered Columbian College (now George Washington University). He matriculated in 1870 with a degree in science. Ward continued his studies at Columbian College. In 1871 he obtained a degree in law. A Master of Arts degree in science was granted to Ward in 1872. From March 1871 to September 1872 Ward served as editor of the journal, *The Iconoclast*. *The Iconoclast* was the voice of the National Liberal Reform League.

The success Ward achieved within academia was darkened by the death of his wife on March 25, 1872. Ward remarried. Rosamond Simons Pierce became Ward's second wife on March 6, 1873. With Elizabeth, Ward fathered one son who died shortly after birth. Ward's second marriage did not produce children.

Ward's advance within the ranks of academia aided his rise within government service. In 1883 he was appointed chief officer for the U.S. Department for the Geological Survey. Ward explored much of the American West; he collected fossils and published the results of his findings.

Study of the natural sciences brought Ward's attention to the sociological theory of Auguste Comte. The influence of Comte spurred the writing of Ward's first book, *Dynamic Sociology*. Ward began his book in 1869. He completed and published his work in 1883.[3] Critics applauded Ward's book, and Ward was launched into the center of American intellectual life. During his study of Comte, Ward concluded that religion was a reactionary force within society. He renounced his Christian faith and remained an acerbic critic of religion.

Although Ward never lost interest in the natural sciences, sociology became his primary study. His efforts as a sociologist resulted in five additional books and more than sixty articles. Columbian College honored Ward's accomplishments in science and sociology by conferring upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws in 1897. In 1906 Ward was elected the first president of the American Sociology Society.

Ward resigned from government service in 1906 to accept a teaching position at Brown University. Students found Ward to be congenial and stimulating. He surprised faculty and students by walking as many as twenty miles to observe the flora and geological strata of Rhode Island. Ward's teaching duties at Brown did not prevent him from accepting invitations to lecture at Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and the University of Wisconsin. Death came to Ward while he visited his invalid wife in Washington, D.C. on April 13, 1913. Brown University is the repository of Ward's papers and correspondence.

Fortune smiled kindly upon Lester Frank Ward. Humble origin did not prevent Ward from obtaining an education that prepared him for advanced study. Ward found himself among the leading American thinkers during the last half of his life. Ward's death was lamented appropriately. Ward's colleague and nephew, Edward Alsworth Ross, stated: "Probably no other American of our time matches Dr. Ward in scientific and philosophic productiveness."[4] Ward was certainly productive. His articles concerning paleo-botanic matters alone number 150.[5]

Ward's training as a natural scientist and study of Comte's ideas laid the basis for his achievements within sociology. The results of Ward's research in the natural sciences indicated that the human species evolved in a manner different than plants and animals. Plants and animals evolved slowly, randomly, and with great waste. Successful evolution of one member of a species entailed the destruction of thousands.

The evolution of the human species was more efficient. While the morphological structure of human beings developed slowly, human beings demonstrated greater adaptability to the environment. Reason and the social nature of human beings enhanced the chances for survival.

Reason and the social nature of human beings enabled Ward to distinguish between *genetic* and *telic* evolution. *Genetic* evolution defined the development of natural physiological structures and functions. For example, human beings could not control the development of their skeletal structures.

Telic evolution referred to the conscious or rational efforts of human beings to improve their environment. The development of mores, customs, and division of labor exemplified telic evolution. *Telic* evolution was *artificial*. *Telic* evolution assured survival.[6] Ward's distinction between genetic and telic evolution grounded his criticism of Darwin's thesis that evolution was a matter of chance and survival of the strongest.

Ward employed Comte's thesis that sociology was a science. Ward believed the evolution of a human social group manifested laws which could be identified. He stated that "all activities of life are controlled by laws, all successful enterprises are prosecuted according to distinct and unvarying principles."[7] Sociology detected and formulated the laws of social development. Ward shared with Comte the belief that all sciences found their fulfillment within sociology.

Ward compared society to a huge organism possessing various limbs. Each limb was a deliberate and calculated response to the environment. Ward argued that social progress required purposeful reflection and action. He held that social progress "is the consequence of teleological foresight, design, and intellectual labor which is diametrically opposed in principle to the processes of nature."[8] Because sociology identified and predicted the movement of social evolution, Ward proclaimed a new age of social amelioration.

Social amelioration was defined in material and moral terms. Telic activity improved the socio-economic conditions of men and women. Improved socio-economic conditions heightened sensitivity to moral concerns. Ward's definition of social amelioration challenged another thesis expounded by Darwin: the lack of purpose within human existence. Ward refuted Darwin's denial of purpose with the claim that purpose was realized in the improvement of society. Ward defended the following proposition: "The actual removal of social evils constitutes moral progress; the discovery of principles and the invention of appliances calculated to remove them constitute material progress."[9]

Ward argued that society operated effectively when material comforts and moral concerns were satisfied. Social ills were not the logical result of the strong suppressing the weak. Ward contended that social problems pointed to the failure of society to distribute goods in a just and orderly manner. Equitable and judicious distribution of goods would be realized when all members of society possessed knowledge. Education was reserved an important role within Ward's sociological theory. We turn now to an investigation of Ward's educational program.

The premise that all could learn buttressed Ward's educational theory. Ward's diary reported the experience of seeing children from poor families learn more than children from wealthy families.[10] Ward's childhood memory was translated into a maxim expressed in *Dynamic Sociology*. His dictum claimed that minds differed "entirely in what they held and not in what they are . . ."[11]

Because all could learn, Ward dismissed the belief that education was a benefit reserved for the elite. Education was a right for all. Universal compulsory education provided Ward with the means of extending to men and women the opportunity to develop their talents for the good of society.

Ward rejected the educational practices of his time. He inveighed against an educational program that emphasized research without concern for social utility. Ward declared an educational program stressing culture as inappropriate; culture was secondary to social concerns. Ward condemned an education accenting experience as wasteful and tedious. An education aimed at mental discipline was useless. Discipline, Ward commented, would arrive when the student recognized the social utility of the curriculum. The social utility of knowledge formed Ward's argument against education as vocational training. Vocational training isolated the student from the wider body of knowledge necessary for social existence.[12] A curriculum grounded upon science and social utility served as Ward's alternative to the educational practices of his time.

Scientific knowledge was primary and proper knowledge. Ward identified two types of scientific knowledge: general and abstract. General scientific knowledge included fundamental principles recognized by all. Abstract scientific knowledge focused upon theoretical considerations involving all the sciences. The distinction between general and abstract knowledge formed the basis for Ward's understanding of the curriculum.[13]

Ward envisioned a three-tiered curriculum. Students progressed from the study of basic scientific principles to the most abstract truths of science. As one advanced within the curriculum, the relationship of all sciences to sociology and the social utility of all knowledge received greater attention. Ward was convinced that a curriculum anchored upon scientific truths and social utility ensured progress. Indeed, he defined education as "a carefully organized assortment of the most useful and important known truths . . ."[14]

Specific disciplines within each tier were not cited by Ward, yet he perceived a general framework for all knowledge. The framework would simplify the classification and organization of knowledge. Education would be a life-long process. A sound curriculum and continuous acquisition of knowledge reinforced Ward's conviction that knowledge is directed ultimately for social ends.

The relationship between the school and society was perceived clearly by Ward. Social progress was impossible without scientific knowledge. Knowledge needed to be distributed to all members of a society. A citizenry enlightened by scientific knowledge promoted the social good. The school became an engine for social progress.

Ward acknowledged the fact that each mind possessed different strengths and weaknesses. The talents of the child were correlated to social needs and developments. Teachers had the responsibility of observing carefully the child's abilities. A profile of the child's abilities revealed the manner in which society would be served.[15]

Private education could not perform the functions Ward envisioned for the school. Private education was influenced by elitist concerns. Public education was responsible solely to the needs of society. Impartiality was the hall-mark of public education. Ward stated that within public education "the lowest *gamin* of the streets . . . meets the most prepared son of opulence on an equal footing of strict equality. Nothing matters but merit itself."[16] The public school placed students in an environment that worked to destroy social barriers. The public school and a curriculum grounded in science and directed to social concerns encouraged discipline, character, and morality.[17]

We should note Ward's agreement with other educational innovations characterized often as progressive. Ward advocated increased educational opportunities for women. He pleaded for better training and salaries for teachers.[18] The school deserved the best resources in order to perform the role of vanguard for social change.

Finally, Ward expanded the role of the educator. The teacher was required to be knowledgeable in the sciences bearing upon the educational process. Sensitivity to the school's role within unfolding social and political events was an additional requirement placed upon the teacher. Ward issued to the teacher a responsibility and mission that extended beyond the norm of his time. The school and the educator could not avoid their duty to society. "Knowledge, ingenuity, skill and industry need to be applied to moral ends and directed to the attainment of social well-being."[19]

The review of Ward's educational program brings us to the point of evaluation. We have seen Ward's concern for a socially relevant curriculum, his argument for the school as the agent for social change, and the importance of the moral element within education. Why is Ward's place among progressive educators not recognized?

Two reasons seem to contribute to the lack of recognition given to Ward. First, there are ambiguities within Ward's educational theory. Ward does not define clearly the difference between general and abstract scientific knowledge nor their relationship. Ward calls for a method of uniting all disciplines, yet he fails to clarify the method he wishes to employ. Ward's curriculum lacks specific disciplines within each tier. Such errors become more glaring when compared to Herbert Spencer's essay, "What Knowledge Is of Most Worth?" Spencer's essay is precise and explicit.

Second, changes took place within American sociology and philosophy. Towards the end of Ward's life, sociology sought precision through increased use of the scientific method. No longer were sociologists interested in the grand theories of Comte and Ward. Albion W. Small attacked Ward's understanding of sociology for its philosophical bent and failure to apply sociological methods to specific problems.[20]

The shift within American philosophy was dramatic. William James and John Dewey introduced new philosophical outlooks which recast the manner in which Americans viewed the world. Ward's axiom of universal laws governing social change became obsolete. Dewey's instrumentalism gave Americans a new method for education and the construction of society.

One cannot resolve the problems within Ward's educational program nor can one hope to resurrect Ward's claim of universal laws governing social change. One can, however, preserve Ward's contribution to the Progressive Education movement. Two points are necessary.

First, the context surrounding Ward's thought is important. Ward was one of a cadre of individuals who rejected the doctrine that individuals were constrained by economic, religious, or evolutionary factors. Ward perceived the danger of Spencer's social theory—the inability of human intelligence to direct the course of evolution.[21] Ward explained how intelligence coupled to the proper educational program could break the grip of Spencer's biological determinism.

In opposition to Spencer, Ward maintained that education was a tool for social welfare and individual happiness. Ward argued that reason subdued nature; nature did not conquer reason. Happiness was the result of human effort. Human beings were responsible for the quality of their lives. Ward denounced Spencer's doctrine that human beings were passive objects caught in the inexorable force of evolution.

Second, Ward's argument for social reconstruction was similar to the argument formulated by John Dewey. The effort of the individual contributed to the whole. For Dewey and Ward, education was the chief means of introducing the individual to society. Dewey's work, *The School and Society*, defined society as an organic union of individuals. Dewey stated that education monitored the child's capabilities in order to determine the child's contribution to society.[22]

The philosophic outlook expounded by Dewey differs radically from Ward's. Yet the differences should not blind one to areas of agreement. Ward was no less concerned than Dewey for the full development of the individual within society. Both accepted the basic fact that education could not be isolated from society. Ward and Dewey shared the conviction that social justice was the primary concern of society.

Lester Frank Ward's educational program was progressive in nature. Ward did not simply foreshadow future developments. His educational program incorporated a basic direction taken up by later progressive educators. Perhaps the failure of historians to acknowledge rightfully Ward's contribution lies in the defects within his program. Yet the defects should be evaluated in light of the cardinal principle of Ward's educational program: the relationship of the school to society. Ward's cardinal principle was the motif that unified his educational program.

The similarity between Ward and Dewey can lead one to believe that Ward was part of the reconstructionist wing within the Progressive Education movement. However, the analysis presented by David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot in their work, *Managers of Virtue*, suggests that Ward was an "administrative progressive."[23] Where is Ward's place within the spectrum of progressive educators?

A direct answer is difficult to formulate. Ward's program does share the basic thrust of the administrative progressive outlined by Tyack and Hansot, but one should be careful. I believe Ward would support Dewey's charge that administrative progressives were elitist in nature.[24] Ward objected to elitism. Also, Ward was a transitional figure. His educational theory was a step between the conservatism of William Torrey Harris and the liberalism of John Dewey. Ward knew well the problems confronting education during his time, but his educational theory did not supply solutions to issues confronting later progressive educators.

In conclusion, Ward's educational theory leaves us with an enigma. Ward's program deserves more recognition for its progressive nature. Yet Ward's place within the spectrum of progressive educators cannot be determined accurately. An opportunity exists for further research into the life of a forgotten although interesting figure within American educational history.

Notes

[1] Lawrence A. Cremin, *The Transformation of the School* (New York: Vintage Books, 1964); Clifford H. Scott, *Lester Frank Ward*, Twayne's United States Authors Series no. 275 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1976); Patricia Albjerg Graham, *Progressive Education: from Arcady to Academe* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1967); Samuel Chugerman, *Lester F. Ward* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1939); and Elsa Peverly Kimball, *Sociology and Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). Citations to the works of Lawrence A. Cremin and Clifford H. Scott will be cited as Cremin, *The Transformation* and Scott, *Lester Frank Ward*.

[2] Cremin, *The Transformation*, 97-98. *The Encyclopedia of Education*, s.v. "Progressive Education Movement."

[3] Lester Frank Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, 2 vols. (D. Appleton and Company, 1883; New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1968). Citations from Ward's work are taken from the reprint edition. References will be listed as Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*. A bibliography of Ward's works will be found in Scott, *Lester Frank Ward*.

[4] Edward Alsworth Ross, "Lester Frank Ward," *The American Journal of Sociology* 19 (July 1913): 64. Eulogies by other scholars will be found in

James P. Lichtenberger, *Development of Social Theory*, The Century Social Science Series (New York: The Century Co., 1923), 394-396.

[5] Quoted in Scott, *Lester Frank Ward*, 67.

[6] Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, 2:628.

[7] Ibid. 2:563.

[8] Ibid. 2:628.

[9] Lester Frank Ward, "Moral and Material Progress Contrasted," *Transactions of the Anthropological Society* 3 (1883): 121.

[10] Quoted in Scott, *Lester Frank Ward*, 42.

[11] Quoted in Henry Steele Commager, ed., *Lester Ward and the Welfare State* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1967), 96. Additional references to Commager's work will be cited as Commager, *Ward and the Welfare State*.

[12] Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*, 2:568; 2:565; 2:562; 2:564; and 2:621 respectively.

[13] Ibid. 2:568-569.

[14] Ibid. 2:621-622.

[15] Ibid. 2:624.

[16] Ibid. 2:590.

[17] Ibid. 2:564.

[18] Ibid. 2:614-619 and 2:627 respectively.

[19] Quoted in Commager, *Ward and the Welfare State*, 92-93.

[20] Albion W. Small, "Note on Ward's 'Dynamic Sociology,' III," *The American Journal of Sociology* 9 (March 1904): 703-707.

[21] Lester F. Ward, "Herbert Spencer's Sociology," *The Independent* 56 (March 31, 1904): 730.

[22] Martin S. Dworkin, ed., *Dewey on Education*, Classics in Education no. 3 (New York: Teachers College Press, 1959), 65. Walter Feinberg emphasizes the social aspect of Dewey's thought in his article, "Progressive Education and Social Planning," *Teachers College Record 73* (May 1972): 485.

[23] David Tyack and Elisabeth Hansot, *Managers of Virtue: Public School Leadership in America, 1820-1980* (New York: Basic Books, 1982). Tyack and Hansot describe the administrative progressive on p. 107.

[24] Ibid. 204.

U.S. Herbartianism at the State and Local Level: A Study of Three Large Cities and Their Corresponding States (1895-1905)

David Berry
The University of Michigan

Introduction

For more than 300 years, schools in what is now the United States have been importing educational concepts and practices from other countries. One of the usual sources has been Europe. U.S. scholars studying there have frequently returned with ideas which have become widely popular and, subsequently, a part of the American school system. This paper will attempt to assess the impact, especially at the state and local level in the northeastern United States, of one movement which passed through just such a conduit: Herbartianism. More specifically, the period of 1895-1905 (as well as subsequent analyses of this period) will be studied to try to determine to what extent the Herbartian movement influenced U.S. teaching practices of that and later eras.

The purpose here is not to undertake a major recapitulation of Herbartian thought nor even to attempt to integrate the numerous writings on American Herbartianism at the national level. As the reader may observe by scanning the bibliography, detailed histories of Herbart and his intellectual descendants abound in many volumes, such as the Dunkel and Felkin works, while specialized studies like those of Hiner, Moulton, and others do a nice job of broadly evaluating the Herbartian impact on schooling in the United States. I shall attempt, however, to present information on the effects of Herbartianism at selected state and local levels through a review of documents published between 1895 and 1905 by public school systems. Additional anecdotal and evaluative information will help to flesh out the account.

In order to establish a basis for consistent comparisons over time, I sought to match cities and states for which annual or biennial reports covering the entire 1895-1905 period are available in the University of Michigan library system.[1] These years were chosen because almost all of the sources listed in the bibliography cite them as the most critical ones in the popularity of U.S. Herbartianism. Many of the authors are careful to point out, however, that publications and discussions on the subject appeared as early as 1890 and lasted far into the twentieth century. Although it is beyond the scope of this report, the implication of more than a few writers is that the Herbartian principles maintained their eminence for possibly three decades after the "official" demise of the movement in the United States: "Somewhere, probably in a good many places, teachers were still teaching and students were still studying this brand of Herbartianism in the 1920s and 1930s."[2] The rewards of future investigation of the state and local reports of this later era seem promising.

Collections of cities', and their corresponding states', reports available in complete records came down to three pairs of candidates: New York, New York; Chicago, Illinois; and Cleveland, Ohio. There is, therefore, a metropolitan cast to this study which largely omits information from the vastly more numerous smaller city, town, and rural public school districts. This gap is only slightly redressed by county reports and examination questions contained in the state documents. The author's rather unsatisfactory defense is a lack of access to, and time for the study of, these difficult-to-obtain writings. I have also been unable to find any previous research analyses of Herbartianism at the state and local level, although a few authors cited in the bibliography (such as Dorothy McMurry) apparently undertook such studies but did not fully document them. Therefore appropriate models to follow are lacking.

As was mentioned previously, the span of American Herbartianism's rise and decline is both brief and similarly delimited by a wide variety of researchers. Typical is Dunkel's timeline: he defines the epoch as encompassing the years 1890-1905, with 1896 as the peak of national interest in the movement. A startlingly rapid decline spanned 1898-99, when the Herbart Society ceased functioning. By 1903, even staunch advocates like the McMurry brothers (fuller references are detailed below) were pruning many Herbartian tenets from their books on education. By 1905, then, the movement was dead by consensus, although local effects were strongly in evidence for decades afterwards.[3] The reasons for this are many, but, in another book, Dunkel seems to summarize the conclusions of many analysts of the movement:

> Herbartianism was the outstanding educational movement if only because it was more concise, coherent, and comprehensive than its potential competitors, such as "child study." As Colonel Francis Parker, no Herbartian, said in 1895, "No subject was ever brought into the American schools that furnished so much food for thought and such abundant means for discussion as the subject we call Herbartianism.[4]

While the time frame and the general nature of the Herbartian movement are fairly well agreed upon, it must be remembered that ". . . it was only one of many influences operating in American schools at the same time to produce changes in elementary education. Of these, several which had been introduced into the United States before Herbartianism had advocates and were helping to determine educational policies after 1890 as well."[5] Herbartianism both contended against and intermingled with the competing concepts of Pestalozzi, Froebel, Child Study, Dewey, Darwin, Spencer, Pragmatism, James's Biological Psychology, and Civics, among others. Indeed most Herbartians believed in and backed one or more of these other sets of beliefs, too.[6] In the findings noted below, I shall try to separate the Herbartian terms and concepts from the others wherever possible.

Herbart

Called ". . . the 'father of the scientific study of education.'" Johann F. Herbart (May 4, 1776-August 14, 1841), of the Universities of Göttingen and Königsberg in Germany, is most famous for his work in philosophy and pedagogy. He is remembered for establishing ". . . one of the earliest pedagogical seminaries attached to a university, . . . formulation of a multistep teaching-learning theory . . . and suggesting that academic subjects be correlated around a concentrated core."[7] But these oft-cited credits are not very accurate. Much of what came to be known as Herbartianism was actually developed by Herbart's later disciples, especially Tuiskon Ziller and Wilhelm Rein in Germany and Charles DeGarmo and the McMurry brothers (Charles and Frank) in the United States.[8] Their contributions will be noted later. Trained at Jena, Herbart

> . . . wrote about a dozen volumes on philosophical and pedagogical topics, and during his twenty-four years at Königsberg conducted a pedagogical seminar. Although he was always a popular lecturer and had served on public and private boards and commissions concerned with education, his death seemed to mark the close of a mainly professorial career — successful, but not so distinguished as to merit international fame.[9]

Indeed Herbart was celebrated during his lifetime as a major philosopher, worthy of succeeding the great Immanuel Kant. He knew and was considered at least the equal of luminous contemporaries like Herder, Fichte, Goethe, and Schiller. Herbart's work in education was virtually ignored at the time, however, and ". . . he observed regretfully, 'My poor pedagogy has not been able to lift its voice!' Not until a quarter century after his death did his fame as an educator begin to emerge."[10] Even at that time his thought was lumped together with ideas from predecessors. The term "apperception," for example, was as often attributed to others. "The theories and investigations of Descartes, Leibniz, Locke, Kant, Rousseau, Basedow, and Pestalozzi, among others, were well-known to Herbart, and to some extent he was influenced by them all."[11] But he was no mere synthesizer of the work of others. He applied himself to refinements *and* to original concepts. "'Diligent' is a characteristic in the reports about him as a school boy, a theme for the eulogies at his burial, and an epithet frequently attached to his name in the intervening years."[12]

The aforementioned "father of the science of education" sobriquet was derived from Herbart's belief in a science of education grounded in psychology, the science of the mind. Herbart's definition of "apperception" came to be the most widely accepted one and the cornerstone of his pedagogical theory. Learning, he posited, was always rooted in memories of past thought and experience. Combined with a contemporary perception, these memories could produce a recognition which would lead to new understanding. Thus links to the past are crucial to learning." Probably three-fourths of the references cited in the bibliography mention and (usually) define apperception and the following "Herbartian terms." I shall briefly note them here and deal with each more extensively in later contexts.

Herbart's psychological construct of "presentation" (Vorstellung) is related to apperception in that each new presentation (or idea) interacts with and becomes a part of previous clusters of experience. Intense presentations, whether positive or negative, remain a part of the dynamic consciousness. The "circle of thought" (Gedankenkreis) integrates presentations into each individual's character. Thus instruction ought to be arranged, said Herbart, into a series of logical progressions: Clearness, Association, System, and Method. Wilhelm Rein and the U.S. Herbartians clarified this into the famous Five Formal Steps of Instruction: Preparation, Presentation, Association, Generalization, and Application. (Similarities with Dewey's five steps will be discussed later.) The "Herbartian culture-epoch theory" was actually developed by Tuiskon Ziller, as Rein was the essential bridge between Herbart and the final Formal Steps. Culture-epoch theory held that a child's development is actually a telescoped, small-scale version of the history of humanity. Thus infancy is primitive or ancient history while adulthood is the equivalent of modern times. As we shall see, the implications of this are strongest in the curricular areas, in which children study primitive cultures via myths and stories in the earliest grades, progressing to contemporary studies as they rise through the grade levels. The unwieldiness of this schema caused many U.S. Herbartians to drop it by the turn of the century.

Later refinements aside, Herbart pointed all his theories in one general direction. "The only kind of education in which Herbart was interested was moral education. . . . For him the fundamental problem of education was how to make the pupil a moral being, one possessing a good will."[14] Therefore Herbart could be compared to a cartographer discovering new continents who outlined the major boundaries but left the detail work to his successors. Or, as Dunkel says, ". . . the amount of Herbart involved in Herbartianism may be likened to a few bricks in a large educational edifice, and certainly the most influential and controversial parts of Herbartianism, the items that made it a lively educational movement, have very slight connection with Herbart's own theory and practice."[15] A time line may help to explain the progression. Herbart's life (1776-1841) left few noteworthy pedagogical portents for the period immediately after he died. 1842-1864 was quiescent in Herbartian terms. ". . . 1865-1905: Herbartianism becomes a major international educational movement; 1906 to the present — decline into almost complete obscurity."[16] "What led to this tardy, posthumous resurrection of his views, or at least his name?"[17] The simple answer is Tuiskon Ziller of the University of Leipzig.

Ziller and Rein

In 1865, Ziller published "The Basis of the Doctrine of Educative Instruction as a Moral Force" (this is just *one* of the translations of the original German) and immediately attracted widespread attention to Herbart's theories. The Society for Scientific Pedagogy was organized in Dresden in 1868 with Ziller as president and yearbook editor.[18] "But Ziller, to suit his immediate purposes, omitted much of Herbart and added much that was his own."[19] "He introduced the 'concentration centers' and 'culture epochs.'"[20] The former was a curricular plan in which an entire school year would focus on one general topic. Thus very young children in the culture-epoch of American Indians might "concentrate" their studies by learning to count teepees, to identify North American flora and fauna in science, to memorize Amerind legends in language class, and to learn the names of various tribes and where they lived in history and geography. "The culture-epochs curriculum, in its various guises, consisted of an attempt to carry children back to a pre-industrial and pre-urban past, whence they could retrace the course of civilization, and thus prepare themselves to make sense of a society that betrayed signs of becoming increasingly senseless."[21]

"In 1874 a pedagogical seminary was established at Jena under the direction of Wilhelm Rein, who developed his practice school according to the ideas of Ziller."[22] "Jena then became the Mecca for teachers from all over the world who wished to be at the cutting edge of educational inquiry."[23] As Rein organized the Formal Steps and passed along Ziller's and Herbart's works, publications in dozens of languages spread Herbartianism as far east as Japan and as far west as the U.S.

American Herbartians

"Herbartianism offered what was said to be a complete theory of education, stressing the elementary school and history instruction. It had been tried out in Germany . . ."[24] and then was brought to the United States:

> Some Americans translated their admiration for Herbartianism into textbooks to be used in the training of teachers. Three of these men, Charles De Garmo and the brothers Frank and Charles McMurry, towered above the rest; indeed, it has been said that their books did more to popularize Herbartianism than all other influences combined.[25]

All three men were prime movers in the National Herbart Society and its successors. De Garmo (1849-1934) took a PhD. at Halle in 1886 and later held prestigious professorial and administrative positions in Illinois, Pennsylvania, and New York. Charles A. McMurry (1857-1929) also took his doctorate at Halle (1887) and later studied with Rein at Jena. Faculty and administrative posts in Illinois and Minnesota followed. His specialty was type studies of geography. Frank M. McMurry (1862-1936) studied at Halle and took his PhD. at Jena in 1889. Teaching positions in Illinois and New York awaited his return to the U.S. Frank later became an Experimentalist supporter of John Dewey.[26] Numerous references are made to these men in the state and local reports mentioned below. De Garmo was considered the theoretician, while the McMurrys provided practical guides to teaching.[27] *Essentials of Method* was first published by De Garmo in 1889. *General Method* by Charles McMurry came out in 1892, then the brothers collaborated on *The Method of the Recitation* in 1897. "These volumes were the Bibles of American Herbartianism."[28]

Almost two dozen major books and scores of articles on Herbartianism appeared in the 1890s. Although they did not consider themselves Herbartians, several leading educators found common ground with Herbart and wrote in support of the movement. Among these were John Dewey, Col. Francis Parker, Nicholas Butler, C.C. Van Liew, W.T. Harris, Henry Barnard, several contributors to *Educational Review*, and many lesser-known leaders. "No other movement or school of thought could lay claim to an equal number of volumes — to say nothing of showing equivalent quality."[29]

The National Herbartian Movement

The growth of interest in Herbartian ideas was surprisingly rapid by the standards of the 19th century. "Once Herbartianism took hold it spread like a prairie fire. Normal schools everywhere reorganized their offerings, introducing courses in the newer psychology as well as in methods of teaching history and literature."[30] Elementary education was also a hotbed of activity for the new theories. As has been noted, several innovations in public schooling were being pushed by a variety of special interest groups. But ". . . the Herbartians stood out as perhaps the most zealous in spreading their favorite doctrines and in adding to the volume of pedagogical literature."[31]

One might expect that such outspoken people would attract a fair amount of criticism, and such was surely the case. Some of the more vehement barbs are detailed later in this report; for now suffice it to recount, for example, that sometime-supporter John Dewey criticized many Herbartians who seemed more concerned with "race history" than child psychology and who paid only lip service to "child study."[32] "For Dewey, Herbart's school is too teacher-controlled and not enough child-centered. It is too stiff, too authoritarian, and not democratic enough. . . . The Herbartian procedure stresses the activity of the teacher; the Dewey steps focus on the child as an active learner."[33] Such criticisms, as we shall see, helped speed the decline of the movement. But many concepts found a home in academic circles even after 1905. "Among the particular Herbartian theories, apperception was most commonly accepted."[34] Curricula of that period underwent many changes, some of which have endured to the present. Far from all of them were Herbartian but those that were stand out relatively distinctly. "Among these were myths, fairy stories and fables, primitive life, industries, *Robinson Crusoe*, pioneer stories and biographies, correlation, selection of content according to the culture-epoch theory, and the placement of historical materials in all or most of the grades. All of these elements had had little currency before 1890."[35] (I must confess, however, that I think McMurry has used some categories too overly broad to completely substantiate her case here.)

The State Level

In certain states, the impact of American Herbartianism was much earlier and much more lasting. Because key leaders of the movement resided there, the states of Illinois, New York, Indiana, and Minnesota, for example, were scenes of major implementations of Herbartian teaching practices.[36] Charles De Garmo and the McMurry brothers were major forces there. Dorothy McMurry also reports that curricula directly attributable to Herbartian influence were to be found in Missouri, Colorado, California, Alabama, Kentucky, and Michigan as well.[37]

Even if one has access to complete records of state annual reports, information on the Herbartian impact is difficult to obtain. Teacher certification examination questions, professional reading lists, superintendents' summaries, pedagogical course listings, normal school reports, and similar sections must be read thoroughly, especially since indexing seems to have been a new and quite underdeveloped practice.

References to texts and professional literature are one of the most fertile sources of information on Herbartian influences. In 1895, the single required reading under Pedagogy for teachers in Ohio was "McMurry's General Method."[38] Karl Lange's *Apperception* (1894) was a required text under Science of Education, followed by "Recommended: De Garmo's Essentials of Method, (Heath); McMurry's General Method, (Public School Publishing Company). . . ."[39] Exam questions for prospective teachers included "Tell in plain, simple language the meaning of these terms: 'Herbartian' . . . "and a related concept was found under "Define apperception. Illustrate your definition."[40]

Illinois reports contain few direct Herbartian references, although that state is universally acknowledged as a wellspring of the movement. One mention is recorded by the President of Illinois State Normal in writing that ". . . McMurry's 'Method of Recitation' is used" to teach methodology.[41]

Even in its early halcyon years, American Herbartianism attracted caveats from those who were wary about some aspects of its beliefs. Typical are the reservations of this educator:

> I recommend the study of pedagogy, by all means, and Herbart's exposition of the science if possible, so that they may know the scope and the

> purpose of education. But let us not suppose that ability to use the terms of the modern or ancient students of educational science indicates any special ability to teach. . . . Nor is it worth while to attempt to make these teachers array themselves in defense of Herbart's pedagogical ideas or in opposition to them.
>
> It is not important that they should know that Herbart ever lived or wrote, but it is of consequence that they should have some proper conceptions of the professional work they are to do.[42]

The pedantic image implied by such words would cause revisions in later writings by prominent Herbartians, as we shall see.

In Ohio the interest in Herbart apparently continued to grow. The teaching certificate reading lists for 1896 and 1897 still contained the texts mentioned above from the 1895 listings. Additionally "De Garmo's Herbart and the Herbartians"[43] made it on the reading list of the "Teacher's Course," which seems to have been an inservice idea designed to keep teachers up to date with the latest publications and theories. Exam questions provide still more references:

- "Show why these have a place in the history of education . . ." includes Herbart on a list of education notables.[44]
- Under "Science of Education," students were asked to "Explain Herbart's idea of apperception" and "Explain Rosenkranz's theory of these three epochs in the education of a human being: The Intuitive epoch, the Imaginative epoch, and the Logical epoch."[45]
- Under "Theory and Practice" was "To what extent do you consciously apply the principles of Froebel and Herbart?"[46]
- Under "History of Education" came "State the views of Pestalozzi, Locke, Froebel, Herbart, and Spencer concerning the end aim of education."[47]
- Another "Science of Education" question was "State briefly the idea of apperception as understood by Leibnitz, Herbart, Wundt."[48]

New York lagged behind Ohio by about a year. The 1897 report only mentioned in passing that Herbart's "cultural epochs" idea was worthy of study.[49] But the following year unveiled a surge of interest. The (teacher) Training School exam of January 21, 1897, says "Give an illustration to show what is meant by the term 'apperception.'"[50] Candidates for New York's "First Grade" (highest ranking) teaching license had to know "In what order should the following subjects be introduced in the school course: General history, ancient history, American history, English history? Give reasons for the answer."[51] Strangely enough, however, the Teacher Training Classes' syllabus contained no Herbartian books, although Locke, Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Spencer, Mann, and Barnard were included.[52]

Teachers themselves indicated an interest: under the Discussions, Papers, and Resolutions section of the report on the New York State Teachers' Association Annual Meeting for 1897 in New York City is

Resolution 13, stating "That the Herbartian section, Dr. McMurry, chairman, handling such philosophical themes as 'the imagination' and 'creative power,' furnishes that nice counterbalance for the practical, so much needed in our self-absorbed age and land . . ."[53] Disbelievers, of course, might see this as a veiled warning that the Herbartians were too "ivory tower" and impractical. Such backhanded compliments continue in W.A. McAndrew's praise: "Dr. De Garmo and the Herbartian radicals shake us up to a fresher realization of interest and correlation. . . . Radicalism makes us think. It forces us to go to the root and ask the everlasting why."[54]

Annual reports from Ohio during 1898-1900 indicate that Herbartian influences were still waxing. The aforementioned Lange, De Garmo, and McMurry books stayed on the Required reading lists.[55] "Adams' The Herbartian Psychology" appeared on the Recommended list for the Teacher's Course in 1898,[56] while that same year found these entries in the state's Geography curriculum Bibliography:[57]

Dr. McMurry's Method of the Recitation	$0 88
Dr. McMurry's Special Method in Geography	46

The major indicators continued to be test questions. The following list shows how Herbartianism spread across the disciplines, which are noted in parentheses.

> "(Psychology) Distinguish the doctrine of Herbart from that of Kant."[58]
> "(Science of Education) Give a general outline of the psychological epochs in education, and indicate the leading characteristics of each epoch."[59]
> "(Science of Education) Explain the theories of culture epochs as applied to teaching. . . . Describe the main characteristics of the various psychological epochs in the development of the human mind. . . . Define apperception. What fundamental principles of teaching may be derived from a thorough study of apperception?"[60]
> "(Science of Education) Distinguish between [sic] social, moral, and religious culture. . . . What is apperception? How will the study of apperception aid the teacher?"[61]
> "(History of Education) What is Herbartianism?"[62]
> "(Science of Education) What is meant by 'science of education?'"[63]
> "(History of Education) Name the greatest book written by Rousseau. By Froebel. By Herbart. By Comenius."[64]

The complete Ohio teacher, it seems, was expected to have at least some knowledge of Herbart and his disciples.

By the turn of the century, New York State reports indicate a continued Herbartian presence. The Report on Teacher Training Classes notes that "Cornell has established a special teacher's department under the direction of Dr. De Garmo and adopted a strong course of study."[65] Herbart was included in the syllabus for Teacher Training Classes on a list of fourteen educators since the 16th century who merited "special study."[66] Judging by the examination questions, however, the movement may have been beginning to decline. Under "Psychology and Principles of Education," Training School candidates were required to "Define apperception, introspection, emotion" all in one question.[67] The portents are ambiguous, however, when one considers that the History of Education section a year later asks students to "Mention the leading educational ideas of Herbart and give an estimate of their influence."[68]

By the end of the decade under consideration here, Herbartian references become quite scarce. Ohio provides a good case in point. While "John Dewey's Psychology" has been added to the examination reading list in Psychology in 1904, McMurry's *General Method* has been deleted under Science of Education.[69] There are no identifiably Herbartian questions on the state or county exams that year.

Later Herbartian works apparently helped account for a small surge of interest the following year. The McMurry brothers' *The Method of the Recitation* was one of two Required selections on the Teachers' Course reading list for 1905-06, while De Garmo's *Interest and Education* made the Recommended list.[70] The Uniform County Examination also asked prospective teachers to "State briefly what is meant by the 'culture epoch' theory" and to "Define apperception. What fundamental principles of teaching may be derived from a thorough study of apperception?"[71]

From the state studies, it seems likely that Herbartianism was most popular in the late 1890's. Subsequent interest in the movement was kept alive through adaptations of Herbartian concepts by Frank and Charles McMurry, Charles De Garmo, John Dewey, William James, and others. By contrast, Pestalozzi and Froebel were still studied intensively as their concepts seemed to be more congruent with the burgeoning child-study movement.

The Local Level

As one might expect, the documents of local public school districts reflect a time lag between the discussion of Herbartian ideas at the national and state levels and subsequent discussions of Herbartianism in the city reports. The earliest reference I could find from the three cities under study is an extensive set of quotations of William T. Harris (not an actual Herbartian) on the subject of moral education which originally appeared in the *Third Year-Book of the National Herbart Society*.[72] This 1897 Chicago citation endorses a view of school discipline relying on strictness but grounded firmly in the need for internal motivation on the part of the student. The following year's report records a more direct, and probably more effective, contact with mainline Herbartianism: Charles McMurry gave five lectures at Chicago Normal School on pedagogy (including apperception), science, and geography.[73]

Documents from New York City reveal a similar type of influence of even stronger intensity.[74] Frank McMurry's teaching position at Teachers College is noted.[75] The Jamaica Normal and Training School, as well as Teachers College, reported the use of De Garmo's *Essentials of Method*, Lange's *Apperception*, and McMurry's "The Conduct of the Recitation" in their classes.[76] Teacher licensing examinations required students to be familiar with Herbartian concepts:

> 5. (a) State three causes of the failure to apperceive. (b) How or why does the correlation of studies aid apperception. . . ?[77]
> 7. State the meaning of apperception, and discuss its relation to memory, the making of lesson plans, and to the conduct of a lesson.[78]

Interestingly enough, however, references to educators such as Spencer, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Rousseau, and Dewey contain no mention of Herbart himself.[79] One wonders if the movement away from the "Herbartian" label was thereby reflected.

An impassioned criticism of culture epochs from Cleveland's superintendent in 1899 reveals not only the (ultimately prophetic) types of attacks on Herbartianism but also the local familiarity with the movement's concepts. The argument is highly detailed and goes on for pages, as did others of the time, both pro and con, but the absolute and unqualified judgments visible in this excerpt show the depth of feeling on both sides:

> . . . I see two grievous errors that some sentimentalists have fallen into. I call attention to them in order.
>
> 1. The assumption that the present child must be put through the process of growth through which the race has come, by having revived for him the environment which the race had in each of its stages. Now I take it that this theory of the culture epochs, as it is sometimes called, is wide of the mark. That is not the meaning of the universal law that the child develops substantially through the
>
> . . . same stages as did the race from ignorance and barbarism to civilization.
>
> It is impossible to put the child born into civilization and surrounded by the spiritual environment of a civilized age, back to pass through the unnecessary struggles of the race before modern life had become possible.[80]

The superintendent goes on to advocate child study. What aroused his ire was a curriculum such as that found at the Detroit Normal Training School. First graders there studied Hiawatha and prehistoric Germany. Second and third graders delved into the lives of the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Romans. Upper elementary students moved on to the Middle Ages, the Reformation and Renaissance, and U.S. history. All levels used legends, stories, songs, and contextual arithmetic to "concentrate" their studies.[81]

Examination questions at the county level reveal only very infrequent

Herbartian references. Just one stood out, for example, in a group of seven sets of "Theory and Practice" questions: "Give a synopsis of Dr. McMurry's method of teaching a great river, taking the Rhine as a type. What is the advantage of types in Geography?'"[82] And this subject was one of the byways of Herbartian thought, not one of the movement's original tenets. A rare reference to mainstream thought in the Science of Education section of the state exam challenged teachers to "Explain the theory of culture epochs as applied to teaching"[83] in more usual terms.

As has been stated, the use of U.S. Herbartians' textbooks and their later revisions probably did more than anything else to keep Herbartian concepts in front of American teachers even after the movement had faded substantially. In Illinois, La Salle County's superintendent reported that, halfway into the 20th century's first decade, his local teacher training courses use ". . . McMurry's 'General Methods' [sic], McMurry's 'The Recitation . . ." and similar texts.[84] On the Uniform County Teachers' Examinations in Ohio, version after version of the test contained four questions directly from *The Method of the Recitation* (by "McMurray" [sic])[85] even after the "end" of the Herbartian era. Indeed Dorothy McMurry seemed to imply that the real impact on the local level was later.

> Of sixteen cities whose curricula for the period between 1890 and 1916 have been examined, some ten show certain elements which were also found in the Herbartian courses. Four — Chicago and Louisville in 1907, Washington, D.C., from 1909 until 1914, and Atlanta, Georgia, in 1914 — included, especially in the lower grades, the study of industries. All four started with primitive man and industrial history, and, in the case of Washington, *Robinson Crusoe* in the second grade, and included Indians, explorers, and settlers, and biographies in the middle grades, and American history in the grammar grades.[86]

Additionally she finds strong reflections of Herbartianism in Detroit, New York City, Boston, Birmingham, and Kansas City, although her proof in some cases seems much weaker than in others. She also does not divulge her exact source documents, let alone any page numbers, so checking her references would be extremely difficult.[87]

Nevertheless, the local element was undoubtedly there. As Dunkel reminds us, ". . . there were hundreds of 'Herbartians' who, though they spoke and wrote little or not at all, gave bulk to the movement. They were the audiences, the buyers of books, the members of the Herbart clubs and the National Herbart Society. Their primary contribution was spreading some variety of Herbartianism in their classrooms."[88] And their interests were sometimes reflected upon both positively and negatively in the local and state reports of the period.

Results

The legacies of Herbart, Ziller, Rein, De Garmo, the McMurrys, and the others are quite well documented at the national level in the United States. "Herbartianism flourished for several decades in U.S. normal schools and colleges. Herbart's influence survives in enriched school curricula and in much of the current methodology of our educational system."[89] "What the leading educational theorists had been arguing about in 1895 and 1896 was being commonly accepted, without debate [?!], by the writers for the ordinary teacher and by those teachers too, a decade later. As already noted, the widest use of the most popular Herbartian books was at this time."[90] Although her boosterism seems overly optimistic and somewhat careless with the facts, Dorothy McMurry's enthusiasm is not unique:

> The young men and women who were excited about educational reform in the late nineties had been inspired by Herbart, especially by Charles De Garmo's book on *Herbart and the Herbartians*. With these young teachers, however, the stress was not on Herbart's "formal steps of the recitation," which they repudiated, but on the beguiling "doctrine of interest." This they found to be a powerful ally; indeed, with it they even got children through tricky and difficult examinations. But the number of such pedagogical rebels was quite small. They worked, moreover, largely by themselves, content to try out their newer ideas in the obscurity of their own little classrooms. Zealots rather than meticulous probers, they were delighted by what they were achieving, though they had little more to offer than their enthusiasm and strong convictions to support the claims they made from their accomplishments. That ardor, fortunately, was never stilled. Though it glowed only faintly and sporadically during the century's first decade, it grew nonetheless.[91]

In addition to the five formal steps, practicing U.S. Herbartians also neglected or downplayed the "concentration" of subject matter theories. But they consistently used and expanded apperception, social living, "industrial (work) themes, oral presentations, concrete experiences, critical thinking and interesting historical materials from the Herbartian repertoire.[92] "Of twenty-two city and state courses, all but four — New York City, New York State, Denver and Kansas — planned for correlation of history in some way, generally with literature and to a lesser extent language and geography."[93]

As textbook publishers have long been aware, teachers at sea in a world of pedagogical theories will often (although not always) latch on to the most complete and thoroughly organized curriculum extant. In this light, one may appreciate the situation in the 1890s:

> Herbartianism, its proponents felt, offered ideas and emphases which met the needs of the time. The Herbartian principles had the advantage of being well-organized, concretely worked out in some detail, plausible, apparently workable when applied to the schools, and capable of being made into formulas which even the humbler teachers thought they could understand. In spite of what might seem to the average teacher a cumbersome philosophical and psychological background, many of Herbart's pedagogical ideas had been put into simple and practical form, which was

> likely to appeal to teachers incapable of understanding or indifferent to the fundamental principles underlying the practical applications."[94]

Based on all of her findings, Dorothy McMurry concluded ". . . that for nearly twenty-five years after its introduction this movement equaled in importance or possibly surpassed any other in determining the character of elementary history instruction in the United States."[95] As we have seen, other investigators extend that opinion to include the upper grade levels and other areas of curriculum and pedagogy as well.

Decline of Herbartianism

Even Herbartianism's enthusiasts devote some effort to chronicling and analyzing the fall of the movement. Traditional textbooks and formal recitation remained the norm in actual practice throughout the United States.[96] A number of theories as to why this was so have been put forth. Some thought Herbartians ". . . had too narrow a concept of the role of the teacher." Thus Herbartians accepted a curriculum that was too traditional and forged by "teachers," whereas Americans wanted "educators" who would tame youth and urban life for the sake of progress and community.[97]

Theoreticians of the period looked to Child Study for guidance. Every set of teacher examinations in Ohio from 1896 through 1905 (and probably beyond) contained at least one, usually several, questions on that subject, for example.[98] The Chicago reports contain huge sections on what Child Study is[99] and what the findings of the Committee on Child-Study and Pedagogic Investigation were.[100] The following year, John Dewey was the center of attention.[101] None of these volumes contains any discernible reference to Herbart or his movement.

> The dissatisfaction was often of a general philosophical nature. In spite of the fact that it advocated thoroughness of knowledge and striving after understanding of what was being learned, Herbartianism on the whole led to a bookish kind of instruction in which experience was of a primarily intellectual character, with much more emphasis on the use of collateral reading and description by the teacher than upon other types of activity. . . . In this way, the Herbartian theories tended to continue the bookish learning of earlier common practice.[102]

Their significant interests in scientific approaches and experimentation notwithstanding, ". . . the fact remains that the emphasis of the Herbartians was largely intellectual."[103] Even a booster like Dorothy McMurry found the Herbartians unable to pin down precisely the age groups to which each culture epoch applied or to carry over the applications of apperception theory into designing history courses with universal continuity.[104]

In conjunction with the aforementioned Child Study movement (a major force for the following half-century) came major revisions in the field of psychology. Thus ". . . professional interest shifted from 'teaching' to 'learning.' . . . Consequently, when 'child-centered' became honorific, and 'teacher-centered' pejorative and when 'learning' became primary and 'teaching' became secondary (if that), Herbartianism appeared not merely out-of-date but actually misdirected."[105] New theories and theorists multiplied. Herbartians themselves dropped key concepts.

> As a result, the advance of experimental psychology made that of Herbart and the Herbartians appear not merely old-fashioned but even unscientific. This latter verdict was a severe blow to a movement that, above all, had sought to found a scientific pedagogy on the basis of a scientific psychology.[106]

In its day, the simple practicality of the movement was one of its greatest strengths, but successors soon appeared. The Five Formal Steps, for instance, ". . . had real utility for overworked and unimaginative teachers. They clung to the steps happily until they could, by equal simplification, reduce Dewey's *How We Think* to a similar mechanical series or could take over Henry Clayton Morrison's sets from his *Principles of Teaching in the Secondary School*."[107] The fate of Herbartianism in the United States was not very unique, especially given its time in our history. As a leading Herbartian of the period noted:

> In the last twenty-five years we have had a rapid succession of reform movements, such as the kindergarten, natural science and nature-study, the elective system, physical geography, classical English literature, manual training, the Herbartian movement, child-study, and more recently, agriculture and vocational training. None of these propagandas have [sic] had any such success as their advocates at first expected. All of them have left permanent influences that have changed to some extent our ideas and practices in the schools.[108]

I found many references to all of these "propagandas" in the state and local reports under study here. I must agree with Dunkel's conclusion that the process seems to be the same

> . . . for all educational reforms past, present, and future. Almost inevitably every innovation is oversold by zealous advocates to everyone, including themselves; then disillusion sets in. But, eternally hopeful, the profession avidly embraces the next panacea until it too proves ineffective. This phenomenon is the source of that massive cynicism endemic among teachers, many of whom regard every attempt at reform as a mere fad which they need only "wait out" since it will soon be replaced by another, which will soon perish in turn.[109]

My findings indicate that state and local acknowledgment and implementation of Herbartian theories seemed to take place anywhere from one to ten years after they were introduced in national intellectual circles. Except in a few localities such as teacher training laboratory schools in

Illinois and New York, these innovations were given no more (and, in some cases, much less) recognition and respect than competing theories of the period. This treatment stands in interesting contradistinction to the glowing praises cited earlier which were heaped on Herbart and his descendants by the intelligentsia at the national level. Yet while the national infatuation burned itself out in short order, local affinities continued for a score or more years.

> In short, having within little more than a decade become out of step with its times, American Herbartianism as such faded from the scene except in those situations where the practical utility of its simplest procedures gave it something of a "half-life" for another twenty-five years.[110]

At least to the documentarians at the local and state level, Herbartian concepts were just a routine addition to (and gradual deletion from) the educational stew.

Herbartianism has the reputation today of being a teacher-centered approach to education. It was supplanted in popularity in the United States by the Child Study movement and its descendants, which focused on the student's perspective and criticized prior philosophies of schooling (including Herbartianism) for not doing so. In the late 20th century one does not hear many calls for a return to teacher-centered classrooms per se, quite probably because such terminology would be judged too authoritarian and would find little support from parents, politicians, students, or even practicing teachers. The issue is nonetheless deeply imbedded in all school reform proposals, and the reader is encouraged to reflect on how strongly some Herbartian tenets and practices are visible in U.S. schools today. As Fred Goodman[111] reasons, Herbartianism and related philosophies allow for more efficient, cost-effective schooling of other people's children. Individual parents might choose other approaches if they had to teach (or pay for the instruction of) only their own children. Jean-Jacques Rousseau suggested that a truly conscientious teacher would have only one student during his or her entire lifetime. Mass education, however, provides an impetus for increasing the efficiency as well as efficacy of each teacher. Such considerations are only a part of the complex nature of schooling and indeed they are not the central reason for this study. They may, however, help to focus some of the debate on educational reform.

Notes

[1] David Angus, "State & City Superintendent Reports: Inventory of Holdings at the Graduate Library" (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan School of Education unpublished photocopy, 1983). This listing was the starting point for data gathering; further information comes from a variety of works about American Herbartianism.

[2] Harold B. Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism: An Educational Ghost Story* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 278.

[3] Harold B. Dunkel, *Herbart and Education* (NY: Random House, 1969), passim, especially pp. 124-126.

[4] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 5. The Parker quotation is taken from "Discussion" in *First Year Book of the Herbart Society*, C.A. McMurry, ed. (Normal, Ill: 1895), p. 153.

[5] Dorothy McMurry, *Herbartian Contributions to History Instruction in American Elementary Schools* (NY: Columbia University Teachers College Bureau of Publications, 1946), p. 59.

[6] Ibid., pp. 59-64.

[7] Edward L. Dejnozka and David E. Kapel, *American Educators' Encyclopedia* (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1982), p. 246.

[8] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), pp. 5 and 256-257.

[9] Ibid., p. 4.

[10] Solomon Bluhm in *The Encyclopedia of Education* (NY: The Macmillan Company, 1971), vol. 4, p. 348.

[11] Ibid., p. 350.

[12] Dunkel, *Herbart and Education* (1969), p. 127.

[13] Henry J. Perkinson, *The Imperfect Panacea: American Faith in Education, 1865-1976* (NY: Random House, 1968/77), pp. 78-79.

[14] Dunkel, Herbart and Education (1969), p. 65.

[15] Ibid., p. 105.

[16] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 7.

[17] Ibid., p. 4.

[18] Bluhm in *The Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 4, p. 353.

[19] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 4.

[20] Dunkel, *Herbart and Education* (1969), p. 107.

[21] Charles E. Strickland, "The Child, the Community, and Clio: The Uses of Cultural History in Elementary School Experiments of the Eighteen-Nineties," *History of Education Quarterly*, Vol. 7 (Winter 1967), p. 479.

[22] Bluhm in *The Encyclopedia of Education*, Vol. 4, p. 353.

[23] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 5.

[24] Dorothy McMurry, p. 145.

[25] Adolph E. Meyer, *The Development of Education in the Twentieth Century* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 22.

[26] *Bibliographical Dictionary of American Educators*, John Ohles, ed., (Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1978), Vol. 1, pp. 365-66 and 844-46.

[27] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), pp. 252-55.

[28] Ibid., p. 5.

[29] Dunkel, *Herbart and Education* (1969), p. 122.

[30] Meyer, p. 22.

[31] Dorothy McMurry, p. 155.

[32] Strickland, p. 486.

[33] Meyer, pp. 48-49.

[34] Dorothy McMurry, p. 53.

[35] Ibid., p. 129.

[36] Ibid., pp. 85, 86, and 92.

[37] Ibid., pp. 120-130.

[38] *Forty-Second Annual Report of the State Commissioner of the Common Schools to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Year Ending August 31, 1895* (Columbus, OH: Stato Printer, 1896), p. 18. Hereafter this and future annuals of this report will be noted only by volume number, state, year, and page number: this would be 42nd Ohio (1895), p. 18.

[39] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

[40] Ibid., pp. 251 and 258.

[41] *Twenty Second Biennial Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Illinois* (Springfield, IL: State Printers, 1898), p. LVIII. These will also be shortened to volume, state, year, and page numbers below.

[42] Remarks by William J. Milne to the Association of Commissioners and Superintendents as recorded in New York's *Forty Second Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction for the School Year Ending July 31, 1896* (Albany, NY: 1897), Volume II, pp. 1170-1171. Please note that the *original* order of the remarks has the sentences after the ellipsis *preceding* those before. I have reordered them for clarity's sake. Future New York citations will follow the Ohio model above.

[43] 43rd Ohio (1896), p. 45.

[44] Ibid., p. 328.

[45] 44th Ohio (1897), p. 315.

[46] Ibid., p. 320.

[47] Ibid., p. 332.

[48] Ibid., p. 333.

[49] 43rd New York State (1897), p. 1208.

[50] 44th New York State (1898), p. 631.

[51] Ibid., p. 646.

[52] Ibid., p. 845.

[53] Ibid., p. 1181.

[54] Ibid., p. 1276.

[55] 47th Ohio (1900), p. 37, for example.

[56] 45th Ohio (1898), p. 49.

[57] Ibid., p. 46.

[58] Ibid., p. 318.

[59] Ibid., p. 320.

[60] Ibid., p. 327.

[61] 47th Ohio (1900), p. 331.

[62] Ibid., p. 332.

[63] Ibid., p. 344.

[64] Ibid., p. 345. These four plus Pestalozzi and Spencer are the most frequently mentioned educators in all the state reports.

[65] 46th New York State (1900), p. 757.

[66] 47th New York State (1901), pp. 493 and 516; and 48th New York State (1902), pp. 359 and 382.

[67] 47th New York State (1901), p. 366.

[68] 48th New York State (1903), pp. 216, 220 and 230.

[69] 51st Ohio (1904), pp. 19 and 20.

[70] 52nd Ohio (1905), p. 30.

[71] Ibid., pp. 440 and 446.

[72] *Forty-third Annual Report of the Board of Education for the Year Ending June 30, 1897* (Chicago: Public Schools of the City of Chicago, 1897), pp. 77-79. The format for abbreviations utilized in the state reports will continue to be used for these city reports.

[73] 44th Chicago (1898), p. 114.

[74] The following 1895-1905 documents contain no discernible references to Herbartianism: the 54th and 55th (1895 and 1896) *Annual Report of the Board of Education of the City of New York for the Year Ending December 31*, (New York City: Board of Education, year) and the successor 1st through 8th (1898-1905) *Annual Report of the Department of Education for the Year Ending July 31*, published subsequently by the renamed Department of Education. The following note contains a more fertile source of Herbartian references.

[75] *First Annual Report of the City Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education of the City of New York for the Year Ending July 31, 1899* (New York City: Department of Education of the City of New York, 1899), p. 63.

[76] Ibid., pp. 66 and 73.

[77] Ibid., p. 193.

[78] Ibid., p. 198.

[79] Ibid., p. 199.

[80] L. Q. Jones, "Superintendent's Report" in *Sixty Third Annual Report of the Board of Education for the School Year Ending August 31, 1899* (Cleveland: Board of Education, 1899), pp. 65-66.

[81] Strickland, pp. 482-485.

[82] 47th Ohio (1900), p. 366.

[83] 49th Ohio (1902), p. 332.

[84] 26th Illinois (1904-06), p. 123.

[85] 53rd Ohio (1906), pp. 378, 382, 394, 399, 404, and 407.

[86] Dorothy McMurry, p. 128.

[87] Ibid., pp. 120-130.

[88] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 246.

[89] Bluhm in *The Encyclopedia of Education*, vol. 4, p. 353.

[90] Dorothy McMurry, p. 58.

[91] Meyer, p. 64.

[92] Dorothy McMurry, pp. 109-117.

[93] Ibid., p. 129.

[94] Ibid., p. 145.

[95] Ibid., p. 144.

[96] Ibid., pp. 139-140.

[97] Perkinson, p. 80.

[98] 43rd-52nd Ohio (1896-1905), various pages and sections containing teacher candidate examinations.

[99] 45th Chicago (1899), pp. 27-75.

[100] 46th Chicago (1900), pp. 37-116.

[101] 47th Chicago (1901), pp. 104-105.

[102] Dorothy McMurry, p. 154.

[103] Meyer, p. 22.

[104] Dorothy McMurry, p. 155.

[105] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), pp. 282-283.

[106] Dunkel, *Herbart and Education* (1969), p. 126.

[107] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), p. 281.

[108] Ibid., p. 279, a quotation from Charles A. McMurry, *Conflicting Principles in Teaching and How to Avoid Them* (NY: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1914), p. 262.

[109] Dunkel, *Herbart and Herbartianism* (1970), pp. 279-280.

[110] Ibid., p. 283.

[111] Two conversations with Professor of Education Frederick L. Goodman at The University of Michigan, October 1987.

Attempting School Reform in Turn of the Century Chicago: The Harper Report

Rick Ginsberg,
University of South Carolina

Introduction

In December, 1897, Mayor Carter Harrison of Chicago asked the city council for power to appoint a committee of men to investigate the public school system. Over a year later, on a fateful Friday the thirteenth of January, 1899, several members of what became known as the Harper commission handed the mayor their final report. Directed by University of Chicago president William Rainey Harper, the report was a 248 page document containing a thorough analysis of the school system with recommendations for improvements and a bill for the state legislature embodying the ideas requiring state approval. The report reflected reform thinking of the day by drawing its ideas from key educational experts from across the country. Yet, the Harper report recommendations were not adopted in Chicago, and significant school reform was absent for nearly twenty years following the release of the report. Chicago, at the turn of the twentieth century, was not yet ripe for progressive educational changes such as those in the Harper report.

Despite its failure to produce any changes in Chicago, an analysis of what happened to the Harper report is important for several reasons. Chicago school historian Mary Herrick, and others like David Tyack, link the reforms it suggested to school reform legislation known as the Otis law passed in 1917.[1] In addition, the report generated wide publicity in the city, and was hailed by educational reformers of the time as a significant effort. It did contain proposals which Tyack has referred to as a compendium of progressive reforms. And studying Chicago, a major industrial city, with a large working class, volatile politics, and strong labor groups and employers' organizations, allows for examination of a variety of sources which may impact on reform efforts.

A number of writers have looked at the Harper report as part of larger analyses of school reform. Most of these studies highlight the report's importance in terms of the kinds of recommendations it generated, and dismiss its failure to effect change to the efforts of the newly formed Chicago Teacher's Federation (CTF) led by Margaret Haley. Tyack ties the report in with his description of the administrative progressives who were expanding their influence in educational matters. Katznelson and Weir use the report as part of their attempt to show how the role of the working class in Chicago affected the reform scenario which evolved in the city. Hogan sees the report as part of the struggle between the CTF and the board of education, the business community and the administrative progressives. Wrigley's study of class politics in Chicago includes a lengthy analysis of the Harper report, and displays the success the CTF had in combining labor opposition against the initial bill, as well as later legislative attempts by civic and business groups to pass legislation.[2] What each of these studies ignores, however, is the essential political nature of the Harper commission. As George Counts noted in 1928 in "School and Society in Chicago," the school system was intimately tied with local politics.[3] And despite the significance of the earlier studies as they relate the Harper report to larger issues of school reform, Chicago city politics at the turn of the century is the real story here.

The Harper report was not the first reform initiative attempted in Chicago. In 1893, following Joseph M. Rice's critical article in *The Forum* on Chicago's schools, a citizen's committee of fifty was elected at a mass meeting to study the public schools. In 1895, a school board committee was appointed to look into how expenses could be lowered. Several city council investigations of school board practices were conducted by councilmen in 1897. And the school board committee on Retrenchment and Reform published its own reform report in September of 1898.[4] The rising population of the city and increased costs for schools were obvious indicators of the need for change. Nonetheless, the Harper report was clearly the most widely publicized and in-depth of these reform measures and therefore deserves careful study. Yet, its inability to produce any changes due to its tie with local politics has not been emphasized. The reforms embodied in the report were not those expressed by educators from the school system, but rather those initiated by an outside committee. A committee whose existence was politically motivated at the outset, which affected its ability to impact on the schools.

The history of the Harper report, then, is significant for a variety of issues it exposes. It displays an early example of gender politics through the efforts of the CTF, and also reveals how middle class reformers battled with labor and working class forces in the school reform arena. In the end, however, the history of the Harper report shows how closely connected school politics were to larger political issues in Chicago, which dictated the success or failure of change. What follows is a case study of the Harper report, from its inception by the mayor in 1897, to attempted efforts at reforming the schools along the lines of its recommendations.

Chicago City Politics

Mayor Carter Harrison was given the power to appoint a committee to study the public schools by the city council in December of 1897. According to the mayor the schools were not giving "a measure of results commensurate with the generous financial resources furnished," and the school board was "seriously handicapped by having to deal with new conditions and difficult developments in the harness of antiquated metheds."[5] The mayor's assertions made sense given the increases in student enrollments caused by immigration, and the rise in revenue necessary to run the schools. Yet, the board of education tried to reform, holding down the number of pupils per teacher, increasing seats available for new students, and limiting those forced to take half day school sessions. In fact, school board president Halle suggested in 1897 that if the schools were not meeting the city's needs, "blame lies with others."[6]

Why, then, did the mayor call for a survey of schools in 1897? In April of that year, Carter Harrison Jr., a Democrat, was elected mayor of Chicago after two years of Republican rule. Harrison, a Bryan supporter in the 1896 presidential campaign, was the first major silver advocate successful in an election after McKinley's capture of the White House. As newly elected mayor in a state which had lost the governorship to the Republicans in 1896, and given his status as a silver man, Harrison was thrust into a position of prominence in the city, state and national levels.[7]

The new mayor campaigned to undo all that the Republicans had done, and once in office he moved to fulfill his pledge. In the summer of 1897, for example, five hundred appointees of his predecessor were removed from their posts. Mr. Harrison used the practice of making temporary but renewable sixty day appointments to avert civil service regulations.[8] But school system employees could not be so easily controlled. The board of education did not fall under civil service rules, and therefore the board members could appoint hundreds of employees. But the 21 member school board was appointed by the person in the mayor's office for staggered terms, and Harrison only appointed seven each year. Thus, the school board would be dominated for several years by holdovers from the previous regime. And the mayor publicly denounced the board secretary, the head of the Normal school, and the superintendent, a Republican.[9]

Within two months of his election, the mayor began plotting to get control of the school board. A city council committee dominated by Harrison men was appointed to investigate board financial practices.[10] But legal troubles encountered by the committee chair greatly deterred any progress. The next month, a complete reorganization of the board was attempted by trying to delay election of board officials until the mayor could gain a majority on the board. This plan also failed, however, as Harrison refused to compromise with the board majority. "If I can't have a reorganization now," the mayor said, "I can bring it about a year from now."[11]

In late 1897, Harrison again got involved with the schools. The Republican governor had called a special session of the state legislature to review several pieces of legislation that would take power away from the mayor and place it in the hands of the governor.[12] At a city council session in December when the mayor sought to counter this potential usurpation of power, the educational commission which produced the

Harper report was summoned. Newspaper accounts reveal that after the introduction of the commission idea, cries of 'send it to the Committee on Schools' were heard. But the mayor got up at once and moved that the rules be suspended so the order could be passed. "In the hubbub and confusion," one newspaper wrote, "Mayor Harrison declared the order passed."[13]

The city council gave the mayor the power to appoint a survey commission. One aldermatic leader explained that, "this is the quiet way Harrison has of getting the ax at work on the school officials."[14] The city's newspapers had similar reactions. The Daily News wrote:

> When Mayor Harrison appoints a new batch of board members during the coming year he will have a majority of followers on the board. By that time the commission . . . is expected to have presented a report demanding changes . . . and thus the decapitation of the parties he desires removed can be accomplished by means of the arising of sufficient excuse.[15]

The summoning of the survey, thus, came after nearly a year of confrontation and struggle between the mayor and the school board. Carter Harrison wanted control of the board and its officials, a task not easily or quickly accomplished. But Chicago was now Carter Harrison's town, where he was placing his people in power. The school survey called for on December 6, 1897, would help him control the public schools, and further strengthen his lock on the city.

The Harper Commission

The initial authority for the commission included two city council members, two school board members, and five outside citizens. According to the report, the actual membership was increased to eleven to obtain fuller representation. In the reports words, the participants were selected to "represent various interests of the city," and would be, "non-partisan and non-sectarian."[16] William Rainey Harper, president of the University of Chicago and current school board member, was tapped by the mayor to serve as chair. He urged calling the group a commission, to give it more strength.[17]

In spite of the report's suggestion of non-partisan membership on the commission, the evidence reveals that a majority were friendly to the mayor. The make-up of the commission included three aldermen who supported Harrison; a former board member who was on the mayor's campaign committee; a member of the Harrison supporting German community; one of the mayor's recent board appointees (who was also on his campaign committee); a future school board appointee; and one other appointee who Harrison had recommended to Harper as a commission member.[18] Thus, although Harper was a Republican who had supported Harrison's opponent in the mayoral election, eight of the eleven commission members had close ties to the mayor. The commission was not as free of political bias as the final report claimed.

To conduct its work, the commission held Bi-weekly meetings. The scope of the inquiry was largely decided by commissioners themselves, with most input from Harper. Indeed, president Harper was deeply involved with school reform through his work in the NEA and civic groups in Chicago. Of the commission, he wrote that "it is one of the best opportunities in educational lines which has presented itself, it seems to me, in the history of our country."[19] Eventually, the investigation took on Harper's name, as the school system attorney from 1900-1919 explained. "His industry and ability were such that soon the commission became known, and always since has been known, as the Harper commission."[20]

The final report lists over 50 male educational leaders — professors, superintendents, principals, college presidents — who advised the commission by letter or interview. The commission also relied on academic journals and papers, similar investigations elsewhere, and the NEA Committee of Fifteen report. In all over 125 individuals were listed or cited in the report.[21] Of this number, only three citations were from women. The report generally acknowledged the active cooperation of school board personnel and various individuals and clubs in the city, but the predominance of males, near exclusion of females, and lack of formal school board and teacher support would add to later difficulties.

The Educational Commission and the Mayor

As work progressed during the first six months of 1898, the mayor's struggle to take control of the school system, and the commission's relationship to that struggle, became obvious. Several of mayor Harrison's city council allies made it clear that the commission should act quickly to have a report to the mayor in a few months, before the school board's new year began on July 1st.[22] And Harper, who initially felt the commission could take a full year to do its work, soon bowed to these demands. He canceled a speaking engagement outside of the city, writing that "this action is the result of pressure which has been brought to bear by the mayor and . . . it is necessary to reach our conclusions, make our recommendations, or the entire work of the commission may be fruitless."[23] The Times-Herald reported that Harrison met directly with the commission before a session in order to be apprised of their progress and to insist that a plan for improvement be forthcoming.[24]

The mayor's goal was to gain control of the school system so it would be in line with the city administration. In July he would have seven more board appointments, and this would give him a clear cut majority of 14 Harrison appointees on the board. But the problem was that school system officials — board president, vice-president, secretary, superintendent — were elected at the final session of the old board. These offices held the power to appoint the many patronage jobs in the school system. Carter Harrison pulled no punches in outlining his feelings:

> I am anxious that the men I appoint should elect the officials of the board. There will be 14 of my appointees on the board in the ensuing year, and my men will be held responsible for what is done. It is only fair that they should have something to say about the management of the affairs of the board by electing the officials.[25]

Harrison favored the appointment of E. Benjamin Andrews, president of Brown University, for the superintendent's position.[26] Andrews was a reknown silver advocate, who also had close ties to Harper. Indeed, Harper even wrote his former professor, Andrews, urging his acceptance of the superintendency, explaining how the implementation of the Commission's goals would be fostered with a new board and school superintendent.[27] To carry out his wishes, the mayor had several of his board appointees attempt to change the school system rules to force election of officials after the new board appointments. The Committee on Rules, which Harper chaired, voted against the proposition. Harper voted against the change. In a letter to Harrison, he explained his actions were for the good of the administration, "for I believed profoundly that such an action would be highly injurious."[28]

The mayor's school board allies continued the fight despite this setback, by applying pressure to the sitting board members. When the election of the new superintendent came up, the effects of this pressure were clear. The current superintendent could only muster 10 of the eleven necessary votes for re-election.[29] Thus, elections were postponed until after the new board appointments were made. One sitting Republican board member called the action, "cheap ward politics."[30] In early July, Harrison was able to appoint nine new board members, the seven available seats plus two disgruntled resignations. E. Benjamin Andrews was quickly elected superintendent.[31]

The fate of the educational commission was still unclear, though a surprising turn of events hinted at its future. In July, the mayor chose not to reappoint Harper to the school board. Harper fully expected to be elected president of the school board, as he had discussed the prospect with university personnel and representative citizens.[32] Harper was controversial because of his university ties and his decision to vote against the rule change no doubt angered the mayor. But Harper was a Republican, and he would support Andrews whether he was on the board or not. In fact, the educational commission had already prepared a draft of the final report by June. How ironic that Harper, the survey director, who actually believed that the mayor would allow the commission members to determine board nominations,[33] was himself not appointed. The mayor was at last in control of the schools.

The Harper Report

The first draft of the report was issued in pamphlet form and was called "Suggestions for the Improvement of a City School System." In mid

July, it was printed and submitted to persons in and out of the city for reaction. The city's predominantly female teaching force were the most critical of this initial draft. Recently organized in March of 1897 into the CTF, the teachers were already unhappy about a salary dispute with the school board, and generally displeased that superintendent Lane was replaced by Andrews. Concerning the commission, they were mistrustful because no teachers were involved in the process, and Harper was not popular with most of them. When the commission first began its work, the CTF wrote Harper supporting equal pay for men and women, and appointment based only on passage of an examination. Free texts and parental schools were opposed. Most of these suggestions were ignored in the Harper report.[34] Also, in June, one alderman recommended to the commission that married women be ineligible as teachers.[35] Teachers responded negatively to the draft of the report giving what they considered good reasons for being skeptical.

By late November of 1898, after the commission gathered the reactions to the initial report, only preparation of legislation encompassing the appropriate recommendations remained to be done. Publicly, commission members claimed that a large citizens committee would be appointed by the mayor to push a bill through the state legislature.[36] At the same time, Superintendent Andrews was caught in a power struggle with the school board, a board he considered overly political. Part of the problem, he thought, was his close relationship with Harper. Concerning the commission, he felt that the board would not approve it and no legislation would be passed.[37] His theory would soon be tested.

The report presented to the mayor in January of 1899 featured the ideas of efficiency and centralization becoming popular at that time. There would be a small board with few committees, with experts running the business and instructional ends. Politicians would lose influence by separating board powers from the city council, having the mayor appoint members rather than their being elected, and having teacher appointments and promotions based largely on merit. An entire reorganization for the system was proposed, as the commission argued that the basic flaws of the system were due to the administrative structure. In all, twenty areas were covered in the report, including the organization, business management, appointment and promotion of teachers, the elementary schools, high schools, normal schools, vacation schools, textbooks, playgrounds, evening schools, compulsory attendance, parental schools, school accommodations, the school census, school buildings and architecture, and several new ideas like resident commissioners and free lecture series. Among the more controversial of the specific recommendations were the increased powers to be granted to the superintendent, a board of examiners for teachers, higher pay for male teachers, commercial and manual schools, kindergartens in every school, a free textbook law, expert inspectors to visit schools and a more rigid compulsory attendance regulation.

The Teachers Dig In

The events in early 1899 following the release of the report are significant because the outcome foreshadowed similar reform endeavors in Chicago for nearly two decades. When the state legislature convened in early January, plans were made by supporters of the report to present a bill with its recommended measures. On January 16, the mayor formally presented the final report to the city council. Harrison asked for discussion of various segments, and promised to appoint a committee of 100 individuals, including teachers, to push for passage by the state legislature. The council accepted the report without comment, and placed it on file.[38] Interestingly, the report was never officially transmitted to the school board by either the mayor or city council, and no official action on the report was ever taken by the board.

The most positive reaction to the report came from prominent educators, both in Chicago and elsewhere. Men like David Starr Jordan of Stanford, David Gilman of Johns Hopkins and Professor Nicholas Murray Butler of Teachers College were very favorble. Several newspapers were supportive, as were a number of local and national journals. Indeed, in 1902, Paul Hanus of Harvard called the NEAs Committee of Fifteen and the Harper report the two greatest documents embodying wise opinion on the efficient organization and administration of schools.[39]

In Chicago, Women's clubs and groups of Methodist ministers came out against various parts of the report.[40] But the teachers raised the strongest opposition. The lack of any teachers, labor or female representation on the commission already angered the CTF. But a number of recommendations made by the commission were especially disturbing to teachers. They opposed granting the superintendent too much power, they wanted a longer residency requirement for board members, opposed the board of examiners which would be appointed by the superintendent, and were skeptical of the resident commissioners, who they believed would act as spies. Of course, the proposition to pay men more than women was troubling. The whole idea of a smaller board, with centralized authority, was objected to because the teachers felt that their input would be ignored by the school administration. Teachers focused a good deal of criticism at Harper, who had opposed several salary increases for them in the past. In fact, he once indicated that he could supply better teachers at lower salaries from the graduates of his school.[41] Expert control was the theme of the report, and to the CTF, this meant the exclusion of teachers, particularly women, from access to control.

The first action by the CTF was to request withholding of the report from the state legislature until discussions could be held. Mass meetings held in the city emphasized this point. Assistant superintendent Ella Flagg Young, the highest ranking female official in the school system, openly criticized the report in an address to teachers.[42] But the pedagogues believed their desire to hold open discussions would prevail since the mayor had come out in favor of appointing a committee of 100 which he guaranteed would have teacher input. These hopes were soon dimmed. Upon recommendation of several commission members, the mayor had a member of the senate and house present a bill to the legislature. In explaining his actions, Harrison assured the teachers that "it will do no harm if the bill is introduced because there is always lots of time to discuss it before its passage."[43] Thus, before any discussions were ever held, even before the proposed committee of 100 could be appointed, legislation was put before the state assembly.

The various teachers groups in the city, led by the CTF, met to discuss strategies for opposing the bill.[44] Mass meetings of teachers were held almost daily following the bill's introduction. Petitions were circulated around the city against the bill, and about 50,000 signatures were accumulated. In February, the CTF passed a resolution to send people to Springfield to lobby against the bill. Elizabeth Burdick, Catherine Goggin and Margaret Haley would lead the fight against passage of legislation.[45]

In late February, the senate education committee recommended against passage of the bill and it was tabled. The house committee followed with the same action on March 7. Only introduction of a new bill or amendment of the old ones could save the commission legislation in this session. The Illinois state legislature had a Republican majority this year, and the various lobbyists were able to give the Republicans ammunition to suggest that the commission bill was a Democratic proposal. As the Republican speaker explained, the whole scheme of the bill was to "increase the political grasp of Chicago's school officials."[46]

President Harper worked to revise hopes for passage of legislation by having the Civic Federation gather interested parties to prepare a bill which might pass. Even teachers like Burdick and Haley were included in these discussions. But no bill could be agreed upon in time for legislative consideration.[47]

The input allowed teachers in the Civic Federation discussions did not diminish teacher opposition to the bills. Haley and Goggin were able to garnish the support of the Chicago Federation of Labor (CFL) in their attack on the Harper bill. They met with CFL delegates, and tied Harper's intentions for the schools with Rockafeller and the trusts and monopolies the unions despised. In response, the CFL promised their support, and communicated to the chairmen of the committees of the legislature their stand with the teachers.[48]

Teachers were successful, then, in articulating their feelings. Ultimately, their goal was accomplished — the Harper bill was not passed. But understanding what happened is not complete without recognizing the part the mayor played in the legislation's defeat. The Harper report was actually the mayor's educational commission, and his activity, or inactivity, is most significant in terms of the outcome of the reform measure.

The Mayor and the Harper Bill

During the political maneuvering surrounding the Harper legislation, the mayor was saddled with a more important battle. In April, he was up for re-election. Former governor Altgeld, his rival for state Democratic control, ran against him as an independent. Even stronger competition would come from the Republicans, where Zina Carter campaigned against Harrison's civil service record and the politics which influenced the school administration. Harrison clearly had to avoid any major controversies in his administration during the campaign.

The mayor's vulnerability was heightened by several other circumstances. The CTF had strengthened their position by lining up the support of the CFL. The labor union was split on support of a candidate, and the mayor could ill afford to do anything which might swing support against him.[49] At the same time, Harrison had several other important pieces of legislation before the legislature, including the repeal of the Allen law — the fifty year traction franchise fight which the mayor had been successful in undermining in the city council. With the Republican majority in the state houses, Harrison would do nothing to turn potential support for this measure against him. And a school law, with the controversy it was causing, might just be a political red herring.

The teachers, of course, had their eyes on the mayor. Several of his appointees and allies — a councilman, a board member and superintendent Andrews — had been making inflammatory remarks about the teaching force, and they were anxious for Harrison to show his colors. The mayor had a good relationship with the city's teachers during his term in office. At a CTF meeting in May of 1898, Harrison was called a true friend of the teachers. In March of that year, he helped push through a pay raise for them. In January of 1899, he helped defeat a city council proposal to bar married women from teaching.[50] Concerning the commission report, he wrote Harper in February of 1899, mentioned the furor among the teachers, and reminded the president that the report itself described the bill as being "for the purpose of convenient and thorough discussion." He asked that teachers be given a chance to discuss the bill.[51] The mayor needed a strategy to quell the discontent among the teachers during the campaign, while still not undermining the work of his commission.

The plan the mayor chose was to essentially remain neutral. In this way he could appease both sides and not hinder his electoral support. Carter Harrison never came out strongly for or against the legislation for the schools. He never went to Springfield to lobby for the bill, as he did in numerous other circumstances. In fact, he never forced the commission to openly meet with teachers and he never appointed the committee of 100 citizens to fight for the bill. The commission created by his hand was supported by influential people in the city and state. Yet, teachers, whose support he had in the past, were becoming more sophisticated in political lobbying and had big labor on their side. So the mayor did not take sides. He already had his supporters dominating school affairs, so no effort for reform was necessary.

The mayor's strategy is best understood by analyzing his comments and actions in this period. Initially, Harrison promised to appoint a citizens' committee to lobby for the bill. When teachers criticized the report, the mayor agreed to appoint teachers to the committee. When commission members pushed the mayor to submit the legislation before any committee was appointed, he agreed. Harrison promised teachers that there was no cause for alarm, that discussion would follow. When questioned specifically about his opinion on the report, he voiced concern about the examining board and resident commissioners, but favored most other sections. He claimed to be "working for what I think is the good of the public school system."[52] He was pleased when commissioners said they would meet with teachers, but he scheduled no meeting and none was ever held. He took absolutely no direct action of his own.

Following the legislature's rebuke of the bill, Harrison commented that "the bill is no life and death situation with me." He claimed that superintendent Andrews opposed parts of the bill, and he concurred with him. A week later Andrews publicly voiced his support of the Harper bill.[53] By late March mayor Harrison retreated even more, and commented that he had never even read the bill, though he said he approved of some parts and would support eliminating others.[54] It appears that the mayor struggled to find a safe position to take, and found that no strong position was the most comfortable. Thus, he never met with teachers, he never forced his commission to confront their critics, he never even appointed the promised support group. After initially reviewing the first draft of the report, the mayor had commented in November of 1898 that "every recommendation . . . is certain to bring good results . . . no time should be lost" in putting the theme into force.[55] But when circumstances made this kind of rhetoric dangerous, the mayor became noncommital. Carter Harrison's strategy was to protect himself.

During the mayoral campaign, the conspicuous dearth of commentary on school affairs by the mayor exemplifies the approach he adopted. While his Republican opponent brought up the issue of politics and the schools when criticizing Harrison, the mayor kept a low profile on the commission controversy. His only comment on schools was to assure the public that he never interfered with the affairs of the school board, except on salary questions. Even in his acceptance speech for the nomination, and in the Democratic platform, no mention of the commission was ever made.[56] Not one speech during the campaign lauded the work of the commissioners. Indeed, after his election, the mayor still could make no positive assertions about his commission. He avoided the topic in his annual message. One critic, Professor Albion Small of the University of Chicago, summed up his frustration about the lack of support for the commission this way:

> Instead of permitting the interests of schools to be recognized in legislation, persons whose self motives are transparent have confused the obvious interests of the schools . . . the result has been that the main interest has suffered defeat. The controlling politicians of the leading political parties have no more use for the principle of efficiency in the conduct of our public schools than they have for the principle of civil service in general. This . . . could not be better illustrated than in the things the mayor left unsaid in his installation address this week . . . The mayor uttered not a word which had any remote reference to the administration of our schools in the future.[57]

Given the potential political costs confronting the mayor, his strategy to avoid taking sides made sense. Considering the enormous political power the mayor of Chicago controlled, non support for a commission he appointed was tantamount to killing the bill himself. But when it is understood that he already had the control of the school system which the commission was called to help him obtain, discarding the commission's work was painless. So insignificant was the Harper report to Harrison, that in his two autobiographies, he never once mentions his educational commission.[58]

Conclusion

In ensuing years, other attempts at legislative reform carried measures resembling those in the Harper report. Legal revisions of the school system were unsuccessfully pursued in 1901, 1903, 1905, 1907 and 1909. Not until 1917, however, with the passage of the Otis law, was the school system thoroughly revised.[59] In each of these pre-1917 instances, groups like the Civic Federation and the Merchants Club battled with the growing CTF. Except for the 1907 attempt at revising the city charter, every one of these reform attempts centered at the state legislature. And just as in 1899, no leading political figure would champion the cause of reform. Certainly mayor Harrison never came out for or against school legislation. Perhaps the greatest impact of the Harper report is summarized by George Counts, who wrote in 1928 that "although the recommendations of the commission had little immediate effect on practice, they did arouse thought on educational questions."[60]

A number of conclusions are derived from the case study of the Harper report. The birth of a form of gender politics is depicted, with the fledgling CTF — spearheaded by effective leaders like Catherine Goggin and Margaret Haley — able to impact on reform activities. Wrigley, more than any other writer, has already emphasized the importance of the CTF.[61] But given that women still did not have the vote, that no women were on the board of education or in the legislative houses, these efforts were truly remarkable. With the mayor's overriding desire to simply have his people in control of the school system, one might assume that the outcome of the Harper bill may have been no different without the efforts of the teachers. But even with such speculation, the efforts of the CTF and their leaders forced the politicians to listen to their demands. The women teachers could no longer be ignored or patronized by the policy makers.

A related matter is the significance of labor and the working classes in the legislative battles. A number of other studies have made this point as part of larger analyses.[62] The CTF used the Harper report issue to have the powerful CFL recognize their demands and work with them in Springfield to defeat the bill. By connecting school reform to the trusts and monopolies the unions hated, the CTF leadership transformed the debate along class lines. No politician, even if one were predisposed to support the Harper bill, could ignore this explosive issue. And the traditional battle lines with labor in opposition to middle class reformers like Harper, Albion Small, and the commercial and civic groups in Chicago were present. The addition of the women teachers and other women's groups to the labor side in the debate is significant here.

The key lesson to be learned from the case study is the impact of local politics on school reform. Others have simply ignored this point in studying the Harper report, though Tyack has suggested very generally that some reform efforts in the country were stifled by local politics.[63] In this case, Carter Harrison was not terribly interested in reforming the schools. The call for an educational commission was part of his strategy to gain control of the school board. Once this was accomplished, he could refuse to reappoint William Rainey Harper to the school board, and stay away from the battle to pass educational reform. He never avoided the chance to lobby and politic in Springfield for issues he truly wanted passed. But the Harper bill was not a priority for him, and any support he might have given it was potentially too politically damaging to bother with. In the end, it was Harrison's local political needs, not the merits of the Harper reforms, which dictated his activity, and ultimately the fate of the bill.

From an organizational perspective, the fact that the Harper commission was an outside body recommending change is significant. At no time was the school board officially sent a copy of the Harper report, and no board action was ever taken on it. Researchers examining the policy making process depict three stages — adoption, implementation and continuation.[64] Here, at the adoption stage, the crucial need for 'within' system advocacy never crystallized. While there were supporters of the Harper reforms, the 'within' system support of teachers and administrators was lacking. Except for superintendent Andrews, who was at odds with the school board, administrators were not very vocal, and teachers opposed the plan. In the end, the combined effect of teacher/labor opposition and mayoral neutrality — and the concomitant lack of community leadership pushing for reform — served as strong disincentives for change.

The case study also does not provide support for any linking of the Harper report to later reform legislation passed in 1917. A number of researchers make this connection with little evidence to support the claim.[65] Though the Otis law did share characteristics with the Harper recommendations, the law also was quite similar to a number of other reform initiatives prepared in Chicago in the last decade of the nineteenth and first two decades of the twentieth century.[66] Any cause-effect relationship which might be drawn between the Harper report and later legislation is purely speculative, without any proven tie.

Recent historical studies like Peterson's have documented how the educational reform process is characterized by great conflict and compromise, with different political arrangements emerging in various locations.[67] This study reflects such a scenario. In Chicago, with the case of the Harper report, the newly formed CTF battled vigorously against a set of changes supported by reformers in the city. But the call of the Harper investigation and its defeat in the legislature were prompted by the political considerations of mayor Carter Harrison. The earlier studies which have examined the Harper report highlight its significance in terms of the state of the art recommendations it provided, as well as the opportunity it afforded the newly created CTF to participate in the school political process. But in doing so, they underestimate completely the impact of local city politics on the outcome of this school issue. And as the president of the Chicago Civic Federation commented in 1907, "political turmoils are always deadly to the objects of the reformers."[68] So it was in the case of the Harper report.

Notes

[1] Herrick, M. *The Chicago Schools*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1971; Tyack, D.B. *The One Best System*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

[2] Tyack; Katznelson, I. and Weir, M. *Schooling For All*. NY: Basic Books, 1985; Hogan, D.J. *Class and Reform*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985; Wrigley, J. *Class Politics and Public Schools*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1982.

[3] Counts, G.C. *School and Society in Chicago*. NY: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928.

[4] *Chicago Board of Education Proceedings*, October 9, 1895, p. 104; *Chicago City Council Proceedings*, June 1, 1897, p. 294-295; *Tribune*, December 14, 1897, p. 5; *Council Proceedings*, December 6, 1897, p. 1113; *Board Proceedings*, September 21, 1898, p. 114; *Tribune*, September 20, 1898, p. 3.

[5] *Report of the Educational Commission of the City of Chicago* (Harper Report) Chicago: R.R. Donnelley and Sons, 1898, p. VII.

[6] *44th Annual Report*, Board of Education of Chicago, p. 17; see, Ginsberg, R. "Analyzing School Surveys: Chicago 1897-1964." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983). Between 1892 and 1900, enrollments increased from 157,743 to 255,861, a rise of approximately 62%. In the same period, the number of teachers increased by about 57%, while the income available to schools was up 72.5%. (See, Ginsberg, R., p. 70).

[7] Within six months of his election, Harrison had been invited to speak at a number of national political forums. For example, he was invited to New York to speak in behalf of candidates in the first mayoral election of greater New York City. See, Harrison, C.H. *Stormy Years*. NY: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1935, p. 129-130.

[8] *Tribune*, October 6, 1897, p. 1; See also, P.M. Green, "The Chicago Democratic Party." (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1978), p. 84. Green talks of the importance of party loyalty in Chicago politics.

[9] Dodge, C. *Reminiscences of a Schoolmaster*. Chicago: Ralph Fletcher Seymour, 1941, p. 63; *Tribune*, October 13, 1897, p. 5.

[10] The committee was made up of Democrats Mangler, Schlake and Kiolbassa, and Republicans Alling and Northrop. Harrison cites all these men as helpful in defeating gang politics in Harrison, *Stormy Years*, p. 162; Schlake is described by Harrison as a warm friend in Harrison, *Stormy Years*, p. 170 and Harrison, C.H. *Growing Up in Chicago*. NY: Bobbs-Merrill, 1944, p. 276-277; Kiolbassa's relationship to Harrison is also discussed in E.R. Kantowicz, *Polish American Politics in Chicago, 1885-1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975, p. 55 and *Tribune*, April 9, 1898, p. 9; Kiolbassa also served on Harrison's reelection executive committee—*Times-Herald*, March 16, 1899, p. 3.

[11] *Tribune*, October 13, 1897, p. 5.

[12] The two bills were a police bill which would take control away from the mayor and give it to the governor, and a reapportionment bill designed to reapportion the city well before it was constitutionally mandated. See, *Tribune*, December 4, 1897, p. 1 and *Times-Herald*, December 4, 1897, p. 1.

[13] *Times-Herald*, December 7, 1897, p. 7. See also, *Tribune*, December 7, 1897, p. 7.

[14] *Daily News*, December 6, 1897, p. 2.

[15] *Ibid.*, See also, *Times-Herald*, December 7, 1897, p. 7 and *Tribune*, December 6, 1897, p. 3.

[16] Harper Report, p. VIII.

[17] Undated letter to commission members from Harper, stating that the mayor appointed him Chairman; and Harper to Harrison, letter, December 18, 1897, in Harper Papers, Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Box III.

[18] The background information and detailed relationship of the members to the mayor comes from Harrison's autobiographies, private papers, newspaper

accounts and Board Proceedings. For specific details see, Ginsberg, R. *Analyzing School Surveys*, p. 84-86.

[19] Harper to Harvey, letter, January 27, 1898, in Harper papers, Box III.

[20] Angus Roy Shannon, quoted in Goodspeed, T.W. *William Rainey Harper*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 173.

[21] See, Shea, G. "The Influence of the Academic Community on Early Educational Reform: A Case Study of the Chicago Educational Commission of 1898" (Master's thesis, University of Chicago, 1979), p. 44-55. See also, Harper Report.

[22] *Tribune*, January 26, 1898, p. 8 and May 22, 1898, p. 5.

[23] Harper to Hervey, letter, January 27, 1898, in Harper papers, Box III; Harper to president Pennington of Dennison University, May 28, 1898, in Harper papers, Box IV.

[24] *Times-Herald*, May 26, 1898, p. 9.

[25] *Ibid.*, May 19, 1898, p. 11. See also, Dodge, p. 63.

[26] E. Benjamin Andrews to Thorton, letter, June 4, 1898 in Carter Harrison II Papers, Newberry Library, Chicago. Indeed, Jean Fair quotes the Chicago Record as indicating support by Harrison for Andrews in June of 1897. See Fair, J. "The History of Public Education in the City of Chicago, 1894-1914." (Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1939).

[27] Harper to Andrews, letter, June 16, 1898 in Presidents Papers, Box 6, Folder 22, University of Chicago. Harper even went east to visit Andrews, see, Chicago Journal, clipping, June 23, 1898 in Presidents papers, Box 9, Folder 5; *Times-Herald*, June 28, 1898, p. 5 and June 30, 1898, p. 4; *Tribune*, June 22, 1898, p. 10.

[28] Harper to Harrison, June 3, 1898 in Harrison papers. See also, *Times-Herald*, May 18, 1898, p. 7; May 19, 1898, p. 11; June 2, 1898 p. 4; *Tribune*, May 18, 1898, p. 7; May 19, 1898, p. 10; June 2, 1898, p. 7.

[29] Board Proceedings, June 29, 1898, p. 563-564 and June 30, 1898, p. 588; no quorem was present at a July 1, 1898 meeting (p. 592-593).

[30] *Times-Herald*, June 30, 1898, p. 4; *Tribune*, June 30, 1898, p. 5 and July 15, 1898 p. 15. Interestingly, a city council resolution was passed on July 11 by Harrison's foes, calling for the superintendent to be an Illinois resident. The mayor remarked that he would ignore the resolution. See, *Council Proceedings*, July 11, 1898, p. 553; *Tribune*, July 12, 1898, p. 7; *Times-Herald*, July 12, 1898, p. 5.

[31] *Board Proceedings*, July 13, 1898, p. 1-7; Andrews to Harper, June 17, 1898 in Presidents Papers, Box 6, Folder 22.

[32] Harper to Butler, June 9, 1898 in Harper papers, Box IV.

[33] For Harper's beliefs on the commission getting board appointments, see, Harper to Hervey, January 27, 1898 in Harper papers, Box III

[34] For teachers' response to Harper, see, "CTF Minutes of Meetings," June 11, 1898, p. 10-15 in CTF files, Box 1, Chicago Historical Society

[35] *Tribune*, June 21, 1898, p. 9.

[36] *Tribune*, November 16, 1898, p. 2; *Times-Herald*, December 18, 1898, p. 12.

[37] Andrews to Harper, telegram, December 1898 in Presidents papers, Box 6 Folder 22; clipping from *The World*, December 4, 1898 (same folder); *Tribune*, December 4, 1898, p. 1.

[38] *Council Proceedings*, January 16, 1899, p. 1320; *Times-Herald*, January 17, 1899, p. 7; *Tribune*, January 17, 1899, p. 10.

[39] See, "Superintendent's Report" 45th Annual Report, 1899, p. 154-155; *Times-Herald*, January 1, 1899, p. 12; "Editorial," January 18, 1899, p. 6; *The Dial*, 26, no. 302, (January 16, 1899):37-39; 26, no. 305 (March 1, 1899):147; 26, no. 308 (April 16, 1899):261; *The Chicago Teacher and School Board Journal*, every issue 1 (January-November, 1899) reports about the commission.

[40] *Tribune*, February 7, 1899, p. 12 and February 14, 1899, p. 12.

[41] Dodge, p. 72; Reid, R.L. "The Professionalization of Public School Teachers: The Chicago Experience." (Ph.D. Dissertation, Northwestern University, 1968), p. 53-55.

[42] *The Chicago Teacher and School Board Journal*, 1, no. 2 (February, 1899):87; *Tribune*, January 15, 1899, p. 5; *Times-Herald*, January 15, 1899, p. 10.

[43] *Times-Herald*, February 12, 1899, p. 8.

[44] As examples, the Horace Mann Club, the Ella Flagg Young Club, the Principal's Club, the Institute for Education, all discussed the proposed bill at their meetings. See, *Chicago Teacher and School Board Journal*, 1, no. 1 (January 1899), 1, no. 2 (February 1899), 1, no. 3 (March 1899), 1, no. 4 (April 1899).

[45] CTF, Minutes of Meetings, Book 1, February 4, 1899, p. 38, in CTF Files, Box 1. For reviews of mass meetings held, see, Reviews of Meetings, February 18, 1899, in CTF Files, Box 35; Reid, p. 57; *Times-Herald*, February 5, 1899, p. 8; February 11, 1899, p. 10; February 12, 1899, p. 8; February 18, 1899, p. 7; February 19, 1899, p. 8; February 22, 1899, p. 12; March 12, 1899, p. 9.

[46] *Tribune*, February 23, 1899, p. 4; *Times-Herald*, February 23, 1899, p. 3; Senate Journal, Bill no. 242, February 23, 1899, p. 198.

[47] Newspapers in the city closely followed the activity of this group. See, for example, *Tribune*, March 1, 1899, p. 8; March 5, p. 13; March 9, p. 8; March 11, p. 13; March 12, p. 14; March 19, p. 4; April 2, p. 7.

[48] Reid, p. 57; *Times-Herald*, March 20, 1899, p. 7.

[49] *Times-Herald*, March 20, 1899, p. 7.

[50] For comments on Harrison, see, *Tribune*, May 15, 1898, p. 2; For discussion of teachers salaries see, File, June-December, 1902 in CTF Files, Box 36; mayoral support of married teachers discussed in *Times-Herald*, January 19, 1899, p. 5 and *Tribune*, January 19, 1899, p. 8.

[51] Harrison to Harper, February 15, 1899, in Presidents Papers, Box 9, Folder 5. See also *Council Proceedings*, January 16, 1899, p. 1320 and *Tribune*, January 18, 1899, p. 10.

[52] *Times-Herald*, February 12, 1899, p. 8; *Tribune*, January 18, 1899, p. 10.

[53] *Daily News*, February 23, 1899, p. 1 and March 1, 1899, p. 1.

[54] *Times-Herald*, March 23, 1899, p. 3. Harrison's thorough knowledge of what was contained in the Harper Report is supported by comments of Harper and Harrison in *Tribune*, November 16, 1898, p. 2.

[55] *Tribune*, November 16, 1898, p. 2.

[56] *Times-Herald*, March 23, 1899, p. 3. For acceptance speech and Democratic platform, see, *Daily News*, March 16, 1899, p. 1; *Tribune*, March 17, 1899, p. 3; *Times-Herald*, March 17, 1899, p. 1.

[57] *Tribune*, April 13, 1899, p. 8. For annual message of the mayor, see, *Tribune*, April 11, 1899, p. 4 and *Times-Herald*, April 11, 1899, p. 3.

[58] Harrison, *Stormy Years* and Harrison, *Growing Up in Chicago*.

[59] Ginsberg, 1983; Ginsberg, R., Peterson, P.E. and Peterson, C. "Rethinking Early Twentieth Century School Reform: The 1917 Illinois Compromise." 3 (Fall 1984):107-133.

[60] Counts, p. 38.

[61] Wrigley, 1982. See also, Reid, 1968.

[62] Hogan, 1985; Wrigley, 1982; Katznelson and Weir, 1985.

[63] Tyack, 1974.

[64] For a good discussion of the policy process in education, see, Fullan, M. *The Meaning of Educational Change*. NY: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1982.

[65] See, for example, Tyack, 1974; Wrigley, 1982; Herrick, 1971.

[66] See, Ginsberg, 1983, Chapter IV.

[67] Peterson, P.E. *The Politics of School Reform: 1870-1940*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985.

[68] *Civic Federation Biennial Report of 1909*, p. 3 in Civic Federation papers, Chicago Historical Society.

Part III

EDUCATION OF PROFESSIONALS

Assessing the Knowledge, Skills, and Professional Attitudes of New Teachers in Iowa, 1878-1887 and 1978-1987

Charles R. Kniker
Iowa State University

Abstract: A common assumption is that the quality of teaching can be improved through better teacher preparation. Using the state of Iowa as an example, this paper compares and contrasts what the Hawkeye state did 100 years ago and is doing today regarding the professional development of new teachers, including assessing their professional knowledge, skills, and attitudes.

Introduction

Overview. Imagine a nation reeling from an unpopular war attempting to reach detente with its former enemy. Imagine a nation experiencing political corruption and injustice at the highest levels projecting itself as the world's foremost model for corporate morality. Imagine a nation heady with technology suffering volatile economic swings. Imagine a nation welcoming new immigrants ignoring the homelessness it causes some of its former settlers. America today? Yes, but similar to America from 1878-1887.

Then, as now, there were heated discussions about education. Debates raged over the need for strong state control. Alternative forms of education existed, as did a bewildering array of textbooks. An uneasy alliance existed between religious leaders and public school officials, with some promoting a pan-Protestant curriculum of moral and spiritual values and others calling for a more secular perspective. The battle for funding was almost as difficult as that of finding qualified personnel for the booming system.

Then, as now, parents, business leaders, legislators and professional educators agreed that more competent teachers were needed. Various schemes were promoted for recruiting and training fledgling instructors. An interesting array of strategies were developed by local and state officials to make teachers "safe for practice," to borrow a contemporary phrase.

Purposes. Such questions as What do teachers need to know? and How can we assess teacher competence? were familiar to concerned citizens of the late nineteenth century. It is my purpose in this article to examine what one state, Iowa, did about teacher preparation and assessment 100 years ago and is doing currently. Through the research questions described below, the article will compare and contrast what was in the teacher education curriculum and what attempts were made to assess competencies of future teachers *throughout* their course of study prior to teaching or in their first years of teaching.

Research Questions. Today we frequently hear the term "knowledge base." Indeed, the thrust of the AACTE meeting in New Orleans in March 1988 will be a discussion of the knowledge base needed by teachers. A fundamental assumption of the Holmes Group and the Carnegie Forum reports is that there is an expanded knowledge base for teachers today.[1] A second assumption found in *Tomorrow's Teachers*, the major document of the Holmes Group, is that assessment is critical to reforming teacher education and improving the quality of education.[2] Growing out of these concerns, my research for this article focuses on the following pairs of questions:

1. What is the knowledge base needed by today's teachers? Is it substantially different from the knowledge base of 100 years ago?

2. What are the instructional skills demanded of today's teachers? Are they substantially different from the skills asked of new teachers a century ago?

3. What are the professional attitudes called for in today's teachers? Are they substantially different from those prepared in 1878-1887?

4. What assessment techniques are in place or proposed today to evaluate the competencies of new teachers? Are they substantially different from assessment practices of 100 years ago?

Rationale. There may be historians of education and teacher educators who think these questions, especially the final one on assessment, are unimportant. I beg to differ. To quote Marleen Pugach and James Raths: "The basic obligation for sending competent teachers into the job market must remain primarily with teacher educators — professionals who have daily contact with candidates in their classes, who have the opportunity to work with candidates on a day-to-day basis in clinical sites, and who address all facets of teacher development, not only those that might not be circumvented by a program of teacher testing. Teacher educators must renew their commitment to selection, screening, and evaluation functions to see to it that their judgments become significant in the certification of new teachers."[3] In a similar vein, Donald Medley reminds us that those who are leaders in professional preparation programs have two responsibilities— instruction and evaluation. In his view (and mine), not nearly enough effort has been made in the second area.[4]

Iowa as a Case Study. While no state can claim to be typical of the experiences of the nation as a whole, Iowa offers some interesting components of "commonness" and "contrast." In terms of population, it was and is a "middle" state. In 1880 it was tenth; it is now twenty-seventh. Those who settled Iowa represented a wide variety of ethnic and religious groups. Land-sale promotions and tax rebates to companies that would locate in Iowa prompted individuals from many eastern and southern states to move to Iowa in the post-Civil War decades. The resident native American population either moved or bought their own land (the Mesquakie settlement). While Iowa's K-12 school population today does not mirror the nation's black and Hispanic proportion of school-age children, it has an above-average enrollment of Asian-American students.[5]

Iowa does offer some additional contrasts with the nation. At the post-secondary level, it has three regents' universities, fifteen community colleges — typical enough — along with twenty-five private colleges (reflective of the multiple religious and ethnic heritages of the state), but no state college system. The high literacy rate is coupled with high student performance on the SAT and ACT tests and a low dropout rate. Yet, the state is ranked thirty-seventh in average teacher salaries. According to one study, it is now only one of two states that does not require some type of teacher competency test.[6]

Finally, Iowa is a "natural" to use as a historical case study because of its rich educational background and its extensive educational records. Who could resist a state that invited Horace Mann to be one of three commissioners to rewrite its school laws in the 1850s? The State Superintendent of Public Instruction's *Biennial Reports* to the legislature, a five-volume history of education in Iowa, and numerous local diaries and official records make a comparative study of various time periods relatively easy.[7] The period of 1878-1887 contains several critical events in education in Iowa including the initial graduations of teachers from the state's only public normal school.

Teacher Competencies, 1878-1887

Iowa's Educational Heritage. In 1878-79 Iowa had 3,117 school districts, an enrollment of 428,362 students, and a teaching force of 20,584. Ten years later, the number of districts had grown to 3,409, the number of students to 487,169, and the number of teachers to 24,212. (Note: Tables and charts originally developed for this paper have been omitted because of space limitations. Contact the author for more complete details.) Settled by individuals from many parts of the country, including New England, the state of Iowa had political leaders as early as the 1840s who called for a quality school system and several teacher preparation institutions.[8] Although its percentage of growth was much less in 1885 than in 1880, the state at that time had approximately 500,000 students attending classes in some 12,000 to 13,000 buildings. Roughly speaking, Iowa today has about 11,000 fewer students than it had 100 years ago, but has approximately 6,000 more teachers.

Profile of Teachers. To keep up with the demand, county superintendents hired young teachers in record numbers. Numerous accounts in official records and diaries reveal that fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds, even an occasional fourteen-year-old, served as teachers within months after "graduating" from grade school. In 1878 the average age of applicants for certification was twenty-two to twenty-three years of age. Approximately one out of eight teachers each year during this decade was new to the job, with another one out of eight beginning with less than one year's experience. In 1878, slightly more than one-third of the teachers were men (36.7 percent). By the end of the decade, slightly under one-fourth of the educators were male (24.8 percent).

Options for Preparation. One clue as to the competencies expected of teachers during this time was the types of preparation which the local and state officials allowed. There were seven options. The first, which increasingly became a non-option, was that of **no preparation**. Desperate township, county, or city school officials still permitted some grade school "graduates" to begin teaching if they could pass a locally administered examination. A second option was the **normal curriculum in high schools**. Approximately one third (42) of the 120 high schools in Iowa offered a series of courses related to teaching — most focused on content while several were concerned with classroom management, instructional planning, and learning theory. The graduates of those programs could either begin teaching immediately (after passing a county superintendent's examination), or they could qualify to enter the state normal school at Cedar Falls (now the University of Northern Iowa). The third option, more popular than the first two, required those who had begun to teach with little formal training to attend a series of **summer teaching institutes**. The state paid each of Iowa's ninety-nine counties $50.00 a year to conduct the normal institutes, which lasted approximately three weeks. Yearly attendance at the institutes increased from 11,293 (in 1878-79) to 18,220 (in 1887-88). Registration fees, typically $1.00 per person, augmented the state's revenue so that a conductor and staff could be reimbursed. The State Superintendent's *Biennial Reports* indicate that guidelines were provided for the curriculum of the summer institutes, a point which will be discussed in more detail later. The fourth option for the prospective teacher was to attend one of the state's **public higher education institutions** — the State University of Iowa at Iowa City (now the University of Iowa) or the Iowa State Agricultural College at Ames (now Iowa State University). Both of these institutions did offer teacher education programs early in their histories.[9] By the 1870s and 1880s, the state had twenty-two **private liberal arts colleges**, but reports indicate that during this time only twenty to twenty-five students a year joined the state's teachers' ranks from this option.[10] The sixth option, chosen by just a few (rarely more than fifteen a year), was to bypass formal preparation in teacher education and take the examination offered by the **State Board of Examiners**. Founded in 1882, the State Board developed an examination that covered the following branches of knowledge: orthography, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar, book-keeping, physiology, history of the United States, algebra, botany, natural philosophy, drawing, civil government, constitution and laws of Iowa, and didactics. Those who desired the state diploma, a certificate good for life, had to pass a test that in addition to the areas listed above included: geometry, trigonometry, chemistry, zoology, geology, astronomy, political economy, rhetoric, English literature and general history, "and such other branches as the board of examiners may require."[11] The seventh option, considered to be the capstone choice by those who contributed articles to the pages of the State Superintendent's reports or who wrote for the *Iowa Normal Monthly*, was attendance at the state's only "official" **normal school at Cedar Falls**.[12] [During this period some ten to fifteen other normal schools existed in Iowa, but most were transient and/or of questionable worth.] The Cedar Falls school opened its doors in September, 1876, with twenty-seven students. By the end of its first year, 150 different students had taken course work. By 1880 the course of study was a four-year program divided into six areas: English literature, Mathematics, Science, History, Art, and Professional Studies.[13] Those areas mirrored, but did not totally or accurately reflect, the topics covered on the school's own entrance exams or the State Examiner's test.

Specific Teacher Competencies. In article after article about teachers, writers — mostly superintendents — expressed common assumptions about what characteristics were needed by those who occupied the classrooms. They were to have a general knowledge "of every department of life" as well as mastery of the subject matters they were to teach. Yet, they were expected not to be so bookish that they would "turn off" school patrons or students. A body of professional knowledge was emerging and teachers were to know both the science of education and the art of teaching and school management. Their skills were to include the abilities to deal with individual pupil differences, to be a good listener, and to be a harmonizing influence in the community. Their dispositions were to include patience, fairness, and courage. It was expected that they were to seek out parents and to be involved in the religious and civic affairs of their villages and towns. Other signs of their professionalism were their participation in teacher/school organizations and their reading of professional journals. More than one writer called for teachers, above all, to be practical people of good common sense. Almost as important, they were to be individuals who, even if they were "born teachers," were willing to be learners. As one county superintendent put it, "Show me one who hopes to rise above mediocrity while relying solely upon natural talent, and I will point you to one whose life is a failure."[14]

Other Concerns About Teachers. During this time there was agreement that teachers needed a longer period of instruction. Although the three-week normal institutes were the norm, few argued that they were more than a stop-gap measure. More than one observer complained that the institutes gave too much time to subject matter content and too little to professional knowledge and methods of teaching.[15] Another matter of concern was the high teacher turnover rate. Few statistics are available, but there was general agreement that too many young promising teachers were leaving after several years on the job. Of course, low salaries was mentioned as a primary cause of teachers quitting. According to a number of articles, another serious matter was the young age (immaturity?) of new teachers. Legislation was passed in 1888 that prohibited the granting of certificates to males not yet nineteen and females under seventeen.[16]

Comparison with Other States. Historical accounts of teacher background, their preparation, and the competencies they were expected to achieve suggests Iowa educators were typical.[17] Teacher curriculum in Iowa, for example, was remarkably similar to descriptions of normal school course work in Massachusetts. Courses offered included algebra, geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy, intellectual philosophy, natural history, in addition to a critical study of the English language, and an outline of the history of English literature. Finally, the Bay State programs had courses on the history of the United States and historical geography.[18] The pages of the Superintendent's reports indicate that many Iowans in education — superintendents, conductors of normal institutes, and teachers — were aware of the latest theories of education, school building designs, and curriculum innovations.[19]

Assessment of Teacher Competencies, 1878-1887

The history of the testing of teachers in America has been ably told.[20] Like other states, Iowa employed an extensive range of assessment practices.

The Mechanics of Assessment. Considering the demographics of the state, and the relatively weak state governance system, it is not surprising that the dominant method of assessing teacher competencies was to have teachers take examinations administered by county or local school officials.[21] In 1878, 22,357 teachers were examined, with 17,835 certificates (offered at four levels) being issued. In 1887, 28,633 teachers were examined, with 24,755 certificates issued. It may be difficult to believe today that approximately four thousand "candidates" a year failed these tests.

This was a change from the 1860s, when a rather informal system — the local school committee — went to the school, often at the end of the term, to observe teachers and ask them whatever questions the committee could muster.

In 1882 a State Board of Examiners was appointed which drafted test items that local or county officials could use.[22] In 1883 the State Board of Examiners consisted of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of the State University, the President of the State Normal School, and two at-large members. A total of 1025 minutes or just over seventeen hours was allocated for the entire examination! It is important to recall that this examination was required only of a small number of teacher candidates; local or county officials had the option of using all or a portion of the test items.

The Types of Questions Asked. Interested readers can find sample questions from the State Examiners' test in the *BRS* reports of 1878-79 and 1879-80. Clearly the emphasis of the items was on factual knowledge. General subject matter questions far outweighed questions over pedagogical theory and instructional practices. Those taking the examinations were expected, however, to recall not only facts, but were also asked to indicate how they would apply their knowledge to classroom situations. Test items over what today would be called "professional knowledge" also emphasized factual recall, with relatively few items asking for application to classroom situations. The types of questions asked on these Iowa examinations mirrored questions on other state and local teacher examinations of the time.[23]

The State Board of Examiners, through the Superintendent of Public Instruction's office, urged local examiners to use its questions; it also encouraged the ninety-nine summer normal institutes to adopt the questions. The State Normal School at Cedar Falls developed its own examinations; in fact, it developed an entrance examination as well as an exit examination that had both an oral and a written component. Periodically, the State Board came to Cedar Falls to serve as the examining committee.[24]

Problems with the Assessment System. As might be expected, while the desirability of assessment was accepted in theory, its implementation ran into some opposition.[25] Some thought it too expensive. Others complained that the lack of uniformity of county examinations — some lasted only fifteen minutes — made them a sham. The most frequent criticism, however, concerned the fact that a teacher who passed an examination in one county could not teach elsewhere until he or she had passed the examination offered by the second county's school official. Writing in the *Iowa Normal Monthly* in 1884, A.B. Warner of Allerton, noted:

> The state positively refuses to accept the diplomas of her own high schools, university, and normal school as evidence of scholarship or ability to teach. Other schools fare no better. Iowa will not permit one of her own sons, bearing the diploma of her own normal school, to teach in

> her most humble rural district without a certificate of qualification from the county superintendent; neither will she receive the diploma of Harvard University, as evidence that John Jones can read, write, or cipher — the county superintendent must examine him. From his decision there is no appeal.[26]

Warner continued his heated dissent from this assessment policy by commenting that far too often county superintendents were political opportunists rather than scholars.

Teacher Competencies, 1978-1987

Like other professional organizations, perhaps more than other associations, teacher and teacher education programs, have seen numerous reform movements. In the wake of student accountability efforts in the 1970s, some teacher education programs in the 1970s began using competency-based modules.[27] It is generally believed that the most recent movement to test teachers *after* finishing their programs of study was begun in southern states in 1977.[28]

Teacher Education Curriculum. In the early to mid-1980s, an estimated thirty national reports and 250 state and regional reports were issued which called for explicit reforms of public education in America.[29] Implicitly, they asked for reform of teacher education. The two most famous responses to these imperatives have been the formation of the Holmes Group (and its book, *Tomorrow's Teachers*) and the formation of the Carnegie Forum and its call for a national standards board to develop and administer a teacher's certification examination.[30] The themes that run through many of these sources include extending the program for teachers (because of the increased general knowledge teachers will need), providing more field experiences and lengthening student teaching, expanding the professional core of the curriculum (helping students become aware of the research on teaching and learning how to apply it), raising standards for admission to teacher education, and recruiting students from diverse populations to teaching. Only the latter is missing from the literature of a century ago. In terms of curriculum, there is much similarity, with the obvious exception of computer literacy.

Generic Teacher Competencies. What are the teacher competencies called for in these reports? One of the most concise statements is found in *Tomorrow's Teachers*.[31] Figure 1 compiles the competencies listed there and in several other sources. Lists of competency statements prepared by state agencies, individual researchers and professional education organizations are readily available.[32]

Teacher Competencies Stressed in Iowa. Before analyzing the competencies asked of Iowa teachers today, it is vital to review the statistics and trends on the number of school districts in Iowa, the number of pupils (in public schools), and the number of teachers in Iowa Schools from 1978-1987. In sharp contrast with the decade of 1878-87, this decade shows a decline of public school students (from 569,729 to 476,050). The number of districts dropped from 447 in 1978 to 436 in 1987. The teaching force declined from 33,511 in 1978-79 to 30,958 in 1986-87. While the percentage of teachers who are males declined from 36.7 percent in 1878 to 24.8 percent in 1887, the percentage of male teachers in Iowa has remained relatively constant during the 1978-1987 period (approximately 35 percent). During the decade the average years of experience of teachers has increased from 11.7 years to 14.8 years.

What about changes in teacher preparation? Obviously, unlike 100 years ago, those who enter teaching today in Iowa must have a bachelor's degree. The new teachers must have completed an "approved program" from an accredited higher education institution. The institutions preparing teachers submit their proposed programs to the Teacher Certification Office of the Iowa Department of Education for approval by the DE and the State Board for Public Instruction. Typically, such programs list the titles and numbers of credits students must earn in general education courses, courses in the major, and professional preparation courses; they do not include lists of specific competencies.

Changes are coming. In the mid-1980s, three different bodies were commissioned to look at the state of education and make recommendations.[33] Although they had different goals and were intended for diverse audiences, the reports did concur that reform of teacher preparation was needed. Similar to reports in other states, these reports concluded that there is an expanding body of professional knowledge that future teachers need to master. Greater stress, say the reports, needs to be paid to skills that will have to be learned "on the job." Many agree that student teaching should be expanded. The state has adopted new certification standards which, among other things, will eliminate the permanent professional certificate.[34] The document developed by the state does contain references to selected generic competencies needed by teachers.

Today there are twenty-eight higher education institutions in Iowa that offer teacher education certification areas. A telephone survey of selected institutions in the state revealed that no institution other than Iowa State University was making a systematic effort to develop a specific list of competencies that their teacher education graduates must have. The list under development at Iowa State is found in its *Teacher Education Handbook*. This list is generic, and from the conversations with teacher education faculty and administration at other institutions, it would appear that there is widespread agreement that these competencies are "embedded" in the teacher education curriculum at all institutions.

Assessment of Competencies, 1978-1987

The just released Office of Educational Research and Improvement book, *What's Happening in Teacher Testing*, is the best source for information about trends in teacher competency testing on a state-by-state basis. There are, of course, numerous other sources that relate to the issues associated with assessing teacher competencies.[35]

What are the trends in assessment of students in teacher education programs? There appears to be a growing consensus that assessment must be done at several critical points in the process, not just at the time of exit from a teacher education program. **Initial or early testing** (at the time of recruitment and admission to the college or university) is the first step. Comprehensive recordkeeping is part of this step. Second, more attention needs to be paid to **evaluation in courses**. That implies more than grade collecting in the liberal arts and professional courses. Increasingly, there is more of an effort to look upon these efforts as part of a diagnostic-prescriptive strategy. Third, there are calls for more assessment efforts during **field experiences** (from early teacher aide experiences to more intense opportunities in methods courses to more rigorous evaluations during student teaching). Clinical experiences are expanding too, in teacher education programs. Reviews of literature indicate there are increasing efforts to use simulations (in-basket as well as those tied to videotapes or computer programs) to see if students can apply concepts learned in courses. Most of the focus of new teacher assessment has been paid to what I call the fourth level of assessment — **end of program evaluations**. The state-mandated tests (which may be the National Teachers Exam) and calls for national certification have grabbed the headlines. Exit interviews are a part of that general strategy. Finally, there is agreement that **on-going assessment**, such as follow-up studies of graduates needs to be expanded.[36] For a model of these assessment activities, see Figure 2.

The call for new and more assessment techniques of new teachers seems to be gaining some support in Iowa teacher education programs and state legislatures. Several years ago, a pilot was called for by the legislature. While there was no requirement to participate, the various teacher education programs in the state were asked to cooperate by having all of their graduates take the National Teacher Examination (NTE). The basic results from that pilot study indicated that Iowa graduates performed very well on the NTE. The conclusion reached, it appears, is that teacher education is going well and that there is little sentiment for making major changes in the current curriculum or assessment procedures.[37]

Summary

Four pairs of research questions were presented early in this essay. To answer them is to summarize the similarities and differences between the competencies expected of Iowa teachers 100 years ago compared with teacher competencies today. Similarly, readers can review what assessment methods were used then and now to evaluate new teachers' qualifications for their positions.

1. *What knowledge is expected of teachers?* In general terms, there is relatively little difference in the two periods. It is assumed that teachers

will have a broad general knowledge, and in the case of secondary school teachers, expertise in certain subject matter fields. Also, they are expected to have professional knowledge (i.e., theories of learning; psychological stages of development, etc.). Specifically, of course, there are differences in what is expected to be known. While the former period was much more demanding about such areas as geography, government, and writing, the curriculum today would be more demanding about some liberal arts areas. Those who enter teaching today would be much better prepared in some technical areas and are more likely to have been exposed to research about questioning skills, time-on-task, and techniques to improve classroom climate.

There is no doubt that the "knowledge explosion" has forced a major change in who is even accepted for teaching today. There are far more teachers with more knowledge who enter teaching now than were allowed to teach in the rural schools of Iowa one hundred years ago.

2. *What skills are needed by teachers?* Again, in general terms, there is general agreement. What was called "practical common sense" 100 years ago is similar to what today is identified as "safe for practice." There are two possible exceptions. Reflecting the greater pluralism of today's society, teachers now are expected to have high levels of interpersonal and intergroup communications skills, especially with children of diverse backgrounds. Second, teachers are expected to know and apply "best practice" research findings.

3. *What professional attitudes are needed by teachers?* There are striking similarities between statements made 100 years ago and today about the kinds of attitudes and dispositions needed by young instructors. There is the recognition that teaching, in its ideal form, is a profession that demands long hours, integrity, a love of learners, and a commitment to pursue the truth.

4. *What types of assessment should be used to determine the qualifications of new teachers?* As has been revealed, a surprising array of procedures was used a century ago. Granted, a small number of teachers took the most rigorous examinations. Then, as now, critics were quick to point out the weaknesses of the tests. Some wanted more subject matter content taught and were opposed to examinations that focused on "the ologies and ics." Others argued that "book learning" examinations would never reveal who would perform well in the classroom. Those arguments continue to this day.

To summarize the Iowa scene past and present reflects the national movement toward a more comprehensive assessment system of new teachers. Iowa has resisted the strategy of end-of-program examinations. There appears to be a growing agreement, among national education leaders, as well as among leaders in Iowa education circles, that more systematic efforts must be made *throughout* the programs of study of students so that tomorrow's teachers can be better prepared.

Notes

[1] The theme of the AACTE meeting of February 17-20, 1988, is "Teacher Education: What We Know and What We Need to Know." One example of AACTE's previous publications in this area is David C. Smith, *Essential Knowledge for Beginning Teachers* (Washington, D.C.: 1983). A new AACTE report on the knowledge base is forthcoming in 1988. The Holmes Group is a consortium of approximately 110 research universities begun in 1986 to improve the quality of teaching in the United States. See p. 4 of *Tomorrow's Teachers* (East Lansing, MI: The Holmes Group, Inc., 1986) for a statement of their goals. The Report of the Task Force on Teaching as Profession is called *A Nation Prepared: Teachers for the 21st Century* (New York: Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy, 1986).

[2] See Goal 3, found on p. 4 of *Tomorrow's Teacher*. See also pp. 11-12, and 64-65. One of the four standing committees of the Holmes Group is on assessment.

[3] Marleen Pugach and James Raths, "Testing Teachers: Analysis and Recommendations." *Journal of Teacher Education* XXXIV, 1 (January-February 1983): 37-43.

[4] Donald M. Medley, *Teacher Competency Testing and the Teacher Educator* (Charlottesville, VA: Association of Teacher Educators and the Bureau of Educational Research, School of Education, University of Virginia, 1982), pp. 1-2.

[5] Mary K. Fredericksen, "The State of the State: Iowa in 1885." *The Palimpsest* 65, 1 (January/February 1984): 3-8; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1987, 107th Edition* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of the Census, 1986). Information on current student population was provided by the Iowa Department of Education, January 1987.

[6] *USA Today*, February 21, 1986 (ACT and SAT). The teacher salary ranking is based on statistics compiled by the National Education Association and released by the Iowa State Education Association. See also *San Antonio Light*, August 1, 1987, p. A10. For a state-by-state comparison of teacher testing, see Office of Educational Research and Improvement, *What's Happening in Teacher Testing* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, 1987).

[7] *The Biennial Reports of the Superintendent of Public Instruction* will be identified hereafter as *BRS*, with the appropriate years. Clarence Ray Aurner served as editor of the five volume *History of Education in Iowa* series, published in Iowa City by the State Historical Society of Iowa, with publication beginning in 1915. Other sources include Irving H. Hart, *Milestones* (Des Moines, IA: Iowa State Education Association, 1954); subtitled "A History of the Iowa State Teachers Association 1854-1945; Iowa State Education Association 1945-1954;" *The Iowa Normal Monthly* (a publication of the Iowa State Teachers Association); and Leonard F. Parker, *History of Higher Education in Iowa* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of Education, 1891). While Horace Mann's involvement in Iowa education is told in several older sources, a more recent account is John A. Beineke, "The Mark of Horace Mann on Iowa Education," *The Palimpsest* 66, 3 (May/June 1985): 101-105.

[8] Aurner. *History of Education in Iowa. I.* pp. 1-156, 281-342. See also *BSR*, 1877-79, 1879-81, 1881-83, 1883-85, 1885-87.

[9] For the history of Iowa State University, see Earle P. Ross, *A History of the Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts* (Ames, IA: The Iowa State College Press, 1942). A brief account of teacher education at Iowa State was prepared by L. Glenn Smith; it is entitled *Teacher Education at Iowa State University 1868-1982* and was published by the Research Institute for Studies in Education at Iowa State, 1982. The most comprehensive treatment of teacher education at Iowa State appears in L. David Weller, Jr., "A History of Undergraduate Teacher Education Programs at Iowa State University, 1869-1968" an unpublished dissertation, Iowa State University, 1975. For a background on the University of Iowa, see Albert B. Hood, "A Brief History of the College of Education of the University of Iowa, 1847-1968," available from the University. Hood includes a summary of an earlier work, Forest C. Ensign, "The First Century of Teacher Training in the State University of Iowa," published in 1947. For additional references on teacher education at Iowa, see Earl M. Rogers, *A Bibliography of the History of the University of Iowa, 1847-1918* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Libraries, 1979), pp. 28-29.

[10] ***BSR*** 1877-79, p. 71; ***BSR*** 1883-85, p. 41.

[11] *Iowa Normal Monthly* VII, 1 (August 1883): 40.

[12] Irving H. Hart, *The First 75 Years* (Cedar Falls, IA: The Iowa State Teachers College, 1951), pp. 8-9. See also Clarence Theodore Molen, Jr., "The Evolution of a State Normal School into a Teachers College: The University of Northern Iowa, 1876-1916" (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1974), an unpublished dissertation. The biennial report of the Principal, Iowa State Normal School, was included in the biennial reports of the State Superintendent.

[13] Hart, *The First 75 Years*, p. 9.

[14] J.H. McLean, "The Proper Type of Professional Training, and How to Make This Available to the Mass of Teachers," *Iowa Normal Monthly*, V, 6 (January 1882): 174. McLean was Superintendent of Montgomery County. A.L. Shattuck, Superintendent of Poweshiek County schools, noted in a speech printed in the *BSR* of 1879-81, p. 54, "the qualifications of teachers are so clearly defined by law that it is not necessary here to repeat them." He acknowledged, before he went on to spell out some characteristics he deemed worthy of superintendents (and teachers), that "a teacher can only be known positively to possess the requirements of the aptitude to teach and ability to govern only after successful experience." His list included: a thorough education, good business qualifications, affability of manner, a good moral character, vigorous health, good common sense, independence mixed with stability of purpose, and non-bookishness.

[15] One State Superintendent concluded that the future teachers of elementary students needed to be given better literature than the "abominable trash" they usually perused at normal institutes. See *BSR* 1877-79, p. 19.

[16] See ***BSR*** 1889-91, p. 57.

[17] Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher* (New York: American Book Co., 1939); Paul Woodring, "The Development of Teacher Education," pp. 1-24, in Kevin Ryan, ed., *Teacher Education: The Seventy-fourth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1975); Merle L. Borrowman, "History of Teacher Education," pp. 71-79, in *The Encyclopedia of Education* 9 (New York: Crowell-Collier, 1971); and Paul H. Mattingly, *The Classless Profession: American Schoolmen in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

[18] Henry Barnard, *Normal Schools and Other Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers, I* (Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany & Case, 1851), pp. 59-61.

[19] *BSR* 1985-87, p. 121, includes brief descriptions about John Locke, Jean Jacques Rousseau, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, and Friedrich Froebel. Throughout the pages of the Superintendent's reports are pictures of new school architecture and stories of enterprising teachers from the state and the nation.

[20] L. Kinney, *Certification in Education* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964); David J. Vold, "The Roots of Teacher Testing in America," *Educational Measurement: Issues and Practices* 4, 3 (Fall 1985): 5-7; Walter Haney, George Madeus, and Amelia Kreitzer, "Charms Talismanic: Testing Teachers for the Improvement of American Education," forthcoming in the book, *Review of Research in Education*.

[21] Aurner, *History of Education in Iowa, I*, pp. 302-303, 310-311, 320-321. Aurner's headings are instructive — "The County in Control;" "State Cooperation." See the annual reports on county and state examinations found in *BRS* from 1878-1887.

[22] The *BRS* for 1883 (found in the 1881-83 Report), pp. 46-57, gives the questions for the entire State Certificate examination.

[23] Vold, "The Roots of Teacher Testing in America;" Haney, "Charms Talismanic," pp. 2.1 to 2.7; J.P. Lutz, Donald O. Stone, and Carolyn V. Spillman, "Looking Forward by Looking Backward," *Phi Delta Kappan* 64, 6 (February 1983): 430-432.

[24] *Report of the Principal, Iowa State Normal School for 1877-78 and 1878-79*, pp. 17-29. (Found in *BRS* for 1877-79.)

[25] A.B. Warner, "The Examination of Teachers," *Iowa Normal Monthly* VII, 10 (May 1884): 423-425.

[26] Ibid., 423.

[27] W. Robert Houston, *Competency-based Teacher Education* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1972); James M. Cooper et al., *Competency-Based Teacher Education* (Berkeley, CA: McCutchan Publishing, 1973).

[28] J.T. Sandefur, "Historical Perspective," pp. 11-14, in *What's Happening in Teacher Testing*.

Risk, *A Place Called School*, *High School*, and *Horace's Compromise*. For a more specific look at how these reports may influence teacher education, see Mary Anne Raywid, Charles A. Tesconi, Jr., and Donald R. Warren, *Pride and Promise: Schools of Excellence For All The People* (Westbury, NY: American Educational Studies Association, 1984). Two professional groups which have issued reports in response to the challenges to change are the National Commission for Excellence in Teacher Education, *A Call for Change in Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1985), 56 pp., and the Association of Teacher Education, *Visions of Reform: Implications for the Education Profession* (Reston, VA: Association of Teacher Educators, 1986).

[30] Alan R. Tom, *How Should Teachers Be Educated? An Assessment of Three Reform Reports* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa, 1987); see also *Teachers College Record* 88, 3 (Spring 1987) — it's theme is "Reforming Teacher Education: A Symposium on the Holmes Group Report."

[31] Linda Darling-Hammond, pp. 28-29, in *Tomorrow's Teachers*. For a rationale behind the knowledge base needed by today's educators, see Lee S. Shulman, "Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform," *Harvard Educational Review* 57, 1 (February 1987): 1-22.

[32] A brief review of today's teacher competencies is found in *Educating a Profession: Profile of a Beginning Teacher* (Washington, D.C.: AACTE, 1983). A survey of competency lists is found in George Denemark and Elizabeth Nelli, "Quality Teacher Education: A Context for Competency Assessment," pp. 1-18, in Sharon G. Boardman and Michael J. Butler, eds., *Competency Assessment in Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: AACTE and ERIC, 1981). See also Merlin C. Wittrock, ed. *Handbook of Research on Teaching, 3rd ed.* (New York: Macmillan, 1986). For a more popular treatment of the topic, including a wide range of opinion pieces, see *Teacher Competence*, a Phi Delta Kappa Hot Topics Series publication, 1984-85.

[33] For a modern "perspective," see *Proceedings of the Governor's Conference on Education* (Des Moines, IA: Office of Planning and Programming, State of Iowa, 1969), pp. 189-216; it contains a series of remarks by panelists on the topic of "The Teacher of the Future." The Legislature appointed a subcommittee to investigate the general condition of education in Iowa. That citizen committee, with six larger subcommittees, issued the "Fine Report" (officially titled *First in the Nation in Education*); it was released by the State of Iowa in October 1984, with pp. 28-39 reporting on the recommendations of the Teaching Quality Subcommittee, and pp. 66-67 reporting the results of a study commissioned by the Committee of the "Perceived Adequacy of New Teachers in Iowa." The Governor of the State, Terry Branstad, appointed another task force to examine more specifically teacher preparation. Headed by the president of the University of Northern Iowa, Constantine Curris, the "Curris Report" was issued in the same year — 1984. A third committee was appointed by the Iowa Board for Public Instruction to consider ways of restructuring the Iowa Department of Public Instruction. That committee was to include an examination of teacher certification rules and regulations.

[34] Iowa Department of Education, "Rules for Teacher Education and Certification," unpublished document, September 1986.

pp. 39-42, in *What's Happening in Teacher Testing*. The theme of the Spring-Summer 1985 issue of *Action in Teacher Education* was "Teacher Competency Testing." A more recent book is Michael L. Chernoff, Paula M. Nassif, and William Phillip Gorth, *The Validity Issue: What Should Teacher Certification Tests Measure?* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1987).

[36] A condensed summary of opinions in this field, now somewhat dated, is found in *Educating a Profession: Competency Assessment*, a booklet published by AACTE in April 1983. For research studies related to this topic, see AACTE, *Assessment Issues in Teacher Education, 1976-1985* (Washington, D.C.: AACTE and ERIC, 1986). Two publications which touch on specific aspects of this topic are: Robert L. Egbert and Mary M. Kluender, eds. *Using Research to Improve Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, 1984) and Nancy L. Zimpher and William E. Loadman, *A Documentation and Assessment System for Students and Program Development* (Washington, D.C.: Clearinghouse on Teacher Education, 1986).

[37] Letter/Report 2200/F27563-10/86, State of Iowa, Department of Public Instruction, written by Orrin Nearhoof, "Report on the Pilot Testing Project."

Figure 1

Teacher Competencies 1978-1987

Knowledge

- broadly educated in liberal arts
- knowledgeable about subjects they teach
- possess a thorough grasp of the knowledge base underlying the teaching profession
- possess a repertoire of instructional strategies
- understand and use methods of inquiry and research findings
- be proficient in mathematical skills
- understand nature, evolution, and uses of languages
- understand the function, use, and importance of mass communication, the computer and other technology
- understand the importance of groups (relationship of society and work; nature and the universe; new technologies to human nature; relation of time to civilization; values and beliefs; fine arts; principles of physical and mental health)

Skills

- be able to engage young in the knowledge and intellectual processes fundamental to a common general education
- have skills to apply a variety of instructional techniques
- are able to understand and apply new technologies
- are able to transcend their own experiences
- are able to communicate effectively with students, parents, colleagues, administrators, and public

Attitudes

- care about children and are committed to their education
- make instructional decisions based on professional knowledge
- honor the dignity and right of every individual learner consistent with democratic values
- implement the concept that school should provide open and equal educational opportunity for all
- respect cultural differences found among students, colleagues, and public

Sources: AACTE, *Educating a Profession: Profile of a Beginning Teacher* (1983); Holmes Group, *Tomorrow's Teachers* (1986); Carnegie Forum, *A Nation Prepared* (1986).

Figure 2

Areas of Teacher Competence 1978-87

(Iowa State)

- I. Knowledge of Education
  - A. Educational Foundations
  - B. School as a Social/Historical Institute
  - C. Legal/Political
  - D. Teaching Profession
- II. General Teaching Skills
  - E. Working with Professionals
  - F. Working with Students
  - G. Using a Variety of Ed. Resources
  - H. Building an Effective Learning Environment
  - I. Personal and Professional Development
- III. Planning Skills
  - J. Planning Lessons and Units
  - K. Developing Curriculum Content
  - L. Planning Activities Based on Ed. Diagnosis
- IV. Implementing Instructional Plans
  - M. Converting Theory to Practice
  - N. Helping Students Develop Thinking and Learning Skills
  - O. Maintaining Student Interest/ Motivate
  - P. Evaluation and Diagnosis
- V. Management
  - Q. Understanding Management Techniques
  - R. Generating a Positive Classroom Climate
  - S. Utilizing a Variety of Disciplinary Techniques

(Virginia Beginning Teacher Assessment Project)

1. Academic Learning Time
2. Student Accountability
3. Clarity of Lesson Structure
4. Individual Differences
5. Evaluation
6. Consistent Rules
7. Affective Climate
8. Learner Self-Concept
9. Meaningful Learning
10. Planning
11. Questioning Skill
12. Reinforcement
13. Close Supervision
14. Awareness

Source: College of Education, Iowa State University, *Teacher Education Handbook* (Ames, IA: Iowa State University, 1987), pp. 56-58.

Source: *What's Happening in Teacher Testing* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1987), pp. 120-121.

The Evolution of Teacher Training: The Curriculum and Administrative Objectives Nationally and Within the Congregation of the Sisters of Sister Providence
1890-1920

Sister Maria Scatena, S.P.
Loyola University of Chicago

> *Spalding deserves recognition also as a champion of the higher education of women. . . . He had no sympathy with the narrow views of those who believed in the inferiority of woman and he did not hesitate to brand the world's treatment of her as "an indelible stain on the page of history." . . . The educational ideal, for woman as for man, is human perfection; "therefore it is good that woman be developed on many sides in harmony and completeness."*[1]
>
> *Rev. Franz De Hovre*

Progress In Teacher Education

The importance of the education of teachers and its implementation at the collegiate level was gaining momentum each year. Both the public and parochial sectors witnessed new requirements for admission to the teaching profession and an emphasis on updating experienced teachers through inservice education. The Sisters of Providence continued to be in the forefront of these educational innovations.[2]

The curriculum offered at most institutions for the preparation of teachers consisted of two types:

1. Courses of a factual or highly theoretical nature such as history of education and philosophy of education and occasionally psychology.
2. Courses in specific methods of the subject to be taught such as teaching science, teaching English, teaching mathematics, and teaching languages.[3]

For example students who wished to attend Indiana State Normal School in 1891 needed to fulfill these admission requirements:

Indiana State Normal School[4]

CONDITIONS OF ADMISSION

First. Sixteen years of age, if females, and eighteen, if males.

Second. Good health.

Third. Satisfactory evidence of undoubted moral character

Fourth. A pledge that the applicant will, if practicable, teach in the common schools of Indiana, a period equal to twice that spent as a student in the Normal School.

Fifth. A fair knowledge of the following subjects: Spelling, Writing, Reading, English Grammar, Geography, United States History, Physiology, and Arithmetic.

(The course of study they followed included:)

Indiana State Normal School[5]

FOUR YEARS' COURSE

First Year

First Term. Educational Psychology (General nature of mind), Reading, Penmanship, Arithmetic, Grammar.

Second Term. Educational Psychology (Stages of knowing), Physical and Mathematical Geography, Arithmetic, Grammar.

Third Term. Educational Psychology (Feeling and will), Physical and Political Geography, with Map Drawing, Reading, U.S. History.

Second Year

Fourth Term. Methods (Reading and Language), Physiology, Composition, U. S. History.

Fifth Term. Methods (Number and Form), Physiology, Latin, General History.

Sixth Term. Methods (Geography and History), Latin, Rhetoric, General History.

Third Year

Seventh Term. Latin, Physics, Music, Drawing, Literature.

Eighth Term. Latin, Physics, Algebra, Advanced Composition.

Ninth Term. History and Philosophy of Education, Botany, Algebra, Latin.

Fourth Year

Tenth Term. History and Philosophy of Education, Zoology or Chemistry, Geometry, Latin.

Eleventh Term. History and Philosophy of Education, Zoology or Chemistry (Qualitative Analysis), Geometry, Latin.

Twelfth Term. History and Philosophy of Education, Practice in Training School, Trigonometry, Latin, Graduating Thesis.

At this time, some states required that persons who wished to teach in the elementary schools had to acquire at least a high school diploma. Of geographic interest to this writing is the fact that it was not until 1907 that the state of Indiana required the high school diploma for elementary teaching.[6]

The education of these teachers became a public issue as evidenced by the establishment of national educational committees such as the Committee of Ten and the Committee of Fifteen in 1893. Among the Committee's recommendations for improvement was a plan to provide university or college summer school sessions for teachers with tuition and traveling expenses to be paid by the local school district. In this way, teachers with limited educational background might continue to study. The Committee of Ten reported that:

> In regard to preparing young men and women for the business of teaching, the country has a right to expect much more than it has yet obtained from the colleges and normal schools. The common expectation of attainment for pupils of the normal schools has been altogether too low the country over. The normal schools, as a class, themselves need better apparatus, libraries, programs and teachers.[7]

The report of the Committee of Fifteen, completed two years later in 1895, provided the questions used to determine the success or failure of a teacher. The evaluation consisted of making judgments based on the achievement of the students. Will the students:

> Grow more honest, industrious, polite? Do they admire their teacher? Does she secure obedience and industry only while demanding it, or has she influence that reaches beyond her presence? Do her pupils think well and talk well? As to the teacher herself, has she sympathy and tact, self-reliance or originality, breadth and intensity? Is she systematic, direct, and businesslike? Is she courteous, neat in person and in work? Has she discernment of character and a just standard of requirement and attainment?[8]

In addition, state requirements developed radically between the years 1895 and 1911. For instance the state of Indiana stipulated these professional requirements for secondary school licenses: Science of Education, School Laws of Indiana, Educational Psychology and Child Care, History of Education, School Systems of Europe and America, and Principles of Education. Prior to this time, the only subject required was a course called Pedagogy or the Science of Education. These new requirements caused subsequent changes in the normal school movement.[9]

The national trend of upgrading teacher education was evident not only in the public sector, but also in the Catholic sector. The teacher education programs within the Catholic school system, up to this date, were equally as functional as those of the public school system.[10]

Speaking favorably of Catholic normal school training, Dr. Schaeffer, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Pennsylvania, made the following observation in the *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903*.

> The Sisters in charge of parochial schools of the Catholic Church spend the greater part of their vacations in some form of preparation for the year's work. Even at the annual retreats, time is given to self-examination as a lever to raise the individual to higher planes of effort. The best scholars in the Jesuit and other colleges deliver lectures to fit teachers for work in the elementary school. What the Church has done for its teachers, the State can afford to do for its teachers.[11]

Until this time, the teaching congregations provided sister teachers with an informal program of studies which included teacher preparation. As Rev. John Hagan indicated:

> Perhaps it is correct to say that the preparation of the Sisters was partly a system of tutelage, partly a system of apprenticeship. In the convent they were given some pre-service work of an informal nature under the direction of the older Sisters. In the school which they served they were aided during the first difficult months by the more experienced teachers. How much all this amounted to can only be conjectural.[12]

The religious teaching congregations stressed not only the importance of direct instruction but also the importance of the school atmosphere, placing emphasis on the Christian character of the school. "As for religious teaching congregations, 'the standards proposed were suggested not by state legislature but by the vocational objectives of the sisters themselves.'" Most of these congregations published a school manual for the use of their own sister teachers.[13]

Even though the individual convent normal schools were meeting the pressing needs of the church for sister teachers, the Catholic hierarchy continued to look for new ways to upgrade the quality of Catholic teacher training. The idea of joining the separate convent normal schools into one organization was recommended.[14]

The Pope's concern about Catholic teacher education prompted him to authorize Archbishop Francesco Satolli to visit the United States in 1892. He presented these directives to Catholic educators:

> Care should be taken that the teachers prove themselves qualified, not only by previous examination before the diocesan board and by certificate

or diploma received from it, but also by having a teacher's diploma from the school board of the State, awarded after successful examination.[15]

In response to the Archbishop's directive, most teaching sisterhoods began to invite outside instructors to present workshops or sometimes even to teach full courses. There were also general educational conventions of the various teaching sisterhoods held within each diocese.[16]

Summer school sessions for sister teachers were a common experience for most religious communities. The sisters assembled at their individual motherhouses to take courses of study that would enable them to meet the ever-growing standards of both the state and parochial school systems. These summer schools provided annual inservice training for the sister teachers.[17]

In addition to the summer school sessions, these sister teachers were encouraged to grow professionally by reading Catholic school journals that were beginning to appear on the market. Many sisters also joined the National Catholic Educational Association which was founded in 1904. Interest in professional enrichment became an integral part of the Catholic educational milieu. The growth in the Catholic school population provided a strong incentive for this professional development. By 1911, 50,000 Catholic educators were teaching 1,250,000 pupils in thirteen universities, 926 colleges and academies and 4,835 elementary schools.[18]

An event of great importance to Catholic teacher education came about with the establishment of the Catholic University of "Teacher's College" as part of the Catholic University, Washington, D.C. It marked the first time that sister teachers were offered a college training. The "Teacher's College" later known as the Catholic Sisters College received approval from Pope St. Pius X on 5 January 1912 and became incorporated on 11 April 1914.[19]

It all began with a plan initiated by Cardinal Gibbons, Rev. Thomas Shahan, and Rev. Thomas E. Shields. The plan was for the establishment of a summer institute for sister teachers from every religious community who would be able to receive their normal preparation at Catholic University Summer School. The establishment of this summer school was based upon certain considerations: funding would be provided by the generosity of the Catholic population, Catholic educators would receive training from Catholic sources, and the program would be geared to the specific needs of sister teachers. Two hundred sister teachers from all parts of the United States had sent in their applications for the first summer session of 1911.[20]

The Sisters of Providence sent sisters to the first summer session offered at the Catholic University. Grade reports of the sisters who attended Catholic University are preserved in a record book in the Sisters of Providence Archives at St. Mary-of-the-Woods. The following grade report from the Second Summer Session is a sample of the number and types of credits that might be earned.

The Catholic University of America[21]
Sisters College

Summer Session, 1912

Sister ________________ (Providence) St. Mary-of-the-Woods has obtained credits as follows:

Subject	*Hours*	*Percentage*
Physics	60	90
Biology (June)	40	70
Logic I	30	90
Chemistry I (June)	30	No exam.
Methods of Teaching Religion	30	80
History of Education	30	78

________________ Dean

Mother Mary Cleophas, the sixth superior general of the Sisters of Providence, wrote a letter to the Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., Rector of the Catholic University of America dated 21 May 1913 referring to this summer session: "We wish to thank you for your very kind favor of the 17th institute and to assure you of our deep appreciation of the honor accorded to St. Mary-of-the-Woods in being formally affiliated with the University."[22]

By 1914 the following ten sisters had earned M.A. degrees from the Catholic University of America: Sister Agnes Clare, Sister Mary Ignatia, Sister Mary Genevieve, Sister Ignatia, Sister Mary, Sister Agnes Xavier, Sister Eugenia, Sister Mary Teresita, Sister Aloyse, and Sister Francis.[23]

In a letter addressed to Mother Mary Cleophas dated 4 May 1917, Rev. Shahan lauded the work of the sister teachers at St. Mary-of-the-Woods. By this time, Rev. Shahan had achieved a prominent position in the Catholic teacher training movement. His message, therefore, was a powerful statement of affirmation.

> These exercises (commencement) will chronicle another year of splendid progress for your noble institution, and will raise it ever higher in the esteem and respect of our Catholic people.[24]

By 1919 this program had advanced to full collegiate status. The courses offered and the degrees conferred are described below:

The Catholic University of America
Washington D.C.

The courses of instruction shall include:

a. professional subjects, viz., Philosophy of Education, Psychology of Education, Special Methods, History of Education, General Psychology, and School Management.

b. academic subjects, i.e., Those which are usually taught in parochial schools, academies, high schools and colleges, and particularly those which the Sister after leaving the Institute will be called on to teach.

For each course of study credit will be allowed on the same terms as are usually granted by the other universities of the country. Members of the Institute who fulfill the requirements shall receive the degree, Bachelor of Arts, or the Degree, Doctor of Philosophy.[25]

Sisters of Providence Normal School

The sister teachers received a normal school training that was separate from the training received at St. Mary's Academic Institute. Until the early part of the twentieth century, this training lasted approximately two years. During this time, most of the states, including Indiana, required only two years of normal school training for teacher certification.[26]

All sister teachers were required to complete a "course of reading" prepared by Bishop Chatard of the diocese. There were fifty-eight books on the list: fourteen in history, six in philosophy, eight in science, and thirty in literature. There were also special reading lists that teachers had to read and require of their students at every grade level.[27]

The sisters also filled their copy books with teaching maxims, several of which are listed below:

1. Introduce visitors.
2. Avoid a long lesson.
3. Few dates should be required.
4. The example of the teacher is almost supreme. Her manners should be kind, her temper even, her judgment cool, her decisions just.
5. One sentence is all a teacher should require to be read at a time in lower grades.
6. Suggestions for teaching should not be set aside or discarded because they are a little irksome at first.
7. Pupils should not be required to tell the teacher where the lesson is.
8. Never appear suspicious or as if watching.[28]

The prospective sister teachers were principally instructed by the Sisters of Providence. Early records indicate, however, that several priests instructed the sisters. In addition, the faculty roster included a few professors from outside institutions of higher education such as Purdue University. Perhaps some of these instructors were on campus for the summer school session only. Generally, however, the sister teachers were taught by Sisters of Providence, most of whom were on the faculty at St. Mary's Academic Institute.

In addition to normal school training, the sister teachers were expected to take courses in the summer to fulfill their certification requirements. The summer curriculum was similar to the curriculum offered during the academic year but perhaps limited in the number of courses offered. After all course work was completed, the sisters were expected to take a final examination. In all probability they were examined by the Bishop of the diocese after having passed several preliminary examinations given by their course instructors.[29]

Examinations for Prospective Sister Teachers

There is no existing record of the manner in which the sisters were examined. However, in one unpublished document in the Sisters of Providence Archives, there is a listing of questions that may have been used for some type of written or oral assessment of the prospective sister teacher. A sampling of the over one hundred handwritten questions provides a general overview:

> What do you mean by Education?
>
> What is the difference between education and learning and instruction?
>
> What of Pestalozzi as an educator?
>
> What of Venerable De La Salle?
>
> What are the advantages of a written examination? Of an Oral? Which do you prefer? Why?
>
> In what manner would you aim to promote the moral training of the student?
>
> What is the proper use of the textbook? What the abuse?
>
> What is a direct question? A leading question? Should they be avoided?[30]

Inservice Teacher Education

The sister teachers were required to continue taking courses every summer. The Teachers' Annual Institute, which had been established in 1890, was under the direction of the Sisters of Providence Education Board composed of Sister Basilissa, serving as president, and four other Sisters of Providence. They developed the program based on particular educational topics. In 1891 topics included the advantages and disadvantages of examinations for promotion; a report on textbooks; and a report of the committee on music.[31]

Sister teachers were invited to put questions into a query box. Before each daily lesson, questions from the box were drawn and answered. For the meeting of 20 July 1891 a sister teacher's question, "What is the best measure to prevent tardiness in school?" was addressed. The answer was, "So teach that your pupils will love the school. Make it a personal matter with your pupils, and arrange to have an interesting class to open with."[32]

Occasionally, a prominent educational leader, such as A.N. Palmer of the popular Palmer method of penmanship, would lecture. See Table 4. According to tradition, the Teachers' Annual Institute had such an excellent reputation that sister teachers from other communities attended them.[33]

Among the lecturers were bishops and priests from all parts of the United States, professors, public school teachers, board members of the Sisters of Providence, and model sister teachers. For example, the minutes of the summer session of 1905 report the following:

> Professor Lawlor of Boston gave an illustrated lecture in the auditorium on the Philippine Islands, the inhabitants, their mode of life, religion, government, education, manners and customs, etc. The next day, he entertained a large audience on various points of historic interest, and on the evening of July 19th he gave us stereopticon views of Japan together with the most scholarly and complete history of the natives.[34]

Table 4

Lectures for the Teachers' Annual Institute 1902

The Art of Oratory in Conversation	Rt. Rev. D. O'Donoghue
Pope Leo XIII	Rev. J. Chartrand
Reading	Rev. D. Barthel, O.S.B.
Napoleon	George Clark Esquire
Book Keeping and Mathematics	Mr. M. Marshall
Penmanship	A. N. Palmer
Literature-Father Sheehan	Sister M. Josephine
Church History-Hildebrand	Sister Ann Cecilia
Church History-Bismark and his Attitude towards the Church	Sister M. Euphrasie
Church History-The Fathers and Doctors of the Church	Sister Agnes Clare
Literature-Shakespeare	Sister Xaveria
Literature-Burns and Coleridge	Sister Teresita
Principles of Elocution	Sister M. Clarence

Source: "Proceedings of the Board of Examiners of St. Mary-of-the-Woods," 22 July 1902. Sisters of Providence Archives, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

The Sisters of Providence also took courses at St. Mary's Academic Institute during the summer months. Some sisters took courses there throughout the year. By 1899 this institution, later known as St. Mary-of-the-Woods College, began to confer the bachelor of arts degree. The first graduate was Elizabeth Y. Cooper.[35]

The general curriculum for the academic year 1898-99 was as follows:

St. Mary's Academic Institute[36]
Academic Department

LITERARY, CLASSICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL

First Year

Christian Doctrine, Bible and Ecclesiastical History.
Mathematics—Algebra.
Science—Physics.
English—Rhetoric, Composition, Literature, History.
Languages—Latin, French or German.

Second Year

Christian Doctrine, Bible and Ecclesiastical History.
Mathematics—Plane Geometry.
Science—Chemistry, Geology.
English—Rhetoric, Composition, Literature, History.
Languages—Latin and Greek, French or German.

Third Year

Christian Doctrine, Bible and Ecclesiastical History.
Mathematics—Spherical Geometry, Astronomy.
Science—Logic.
English—Poetry, Literary Analysis, History.
Languages—Latin and Greek, French or German.

Fourth Year

Christian Doctrine, Bible and Ecclesiastical History.
Mathematics—Trigonometry.
Science—Metaphysics, Ethics.
English—Classic Literature, Criticisms, Essays.
Languages—Latin and Greek, French or German.

It was not until 1918 that St. Mary-of-the-Woods College would offer a two-year program of courses designed to meet the requirements of the Indiana State Department of Education leading to a high school teaching certificate. There is no indication in the former school catalogues of courses leading to teaching certificates of any kind before this time.[37]

In the early part of the century sister teachers of the Sisters of

Providence began to attend summer university courses. In addition to attending the Catholic Sisters College at the Catholic University of America, they branched out to other universities as well. Soon they were taking university courses throughout the year. For example, in 1912 four sisters attended De Paul University in Chicago. Their grade report indicates their dedication to scholarship.

De Paul University[38]
1010 Webster Ave
Chicago

April 13th, 1912

Subject			*Grade*
Sister ________________			
Chemistry, adv.			
Biology, Coll.			
Sister ________________			
Mathematics, Trigonometry			93
Physics	Lab. 95	Exam. 95	Gen. 95
English, Coll.			90
Mathematics, Pl. Geometry			100
Sister ________________			
Mathematics, Trigonometry			99
Mathematics, Coll. Algebra			99
English, Coll.			100
Physics	Lab. 95	Exam. 91	Gen. 93
Sister ________________			
Mathematics, Trigonometry			91
Mathematics, Coll. Algebra			93
Biology, Coll.			
Chemistry, Adv.			

St. Mary's Guide for Teachers

An outgrowth of the Teachers' Annual Institute was a two hundred page manual called *The Teacher's Guide, or Educational Methods for the Special Use of the Sisters of Providence*, first published in 1895, revised in 1899, and again in 1914. Tradition has it that Sister Basilissa asked sister teachers at various grade levels to assist in writing the manual. This manual formalized the successful teaching practices of the Sisters of Providence so that there would be some uniformity in all the classrooms conducted by this congregation. However, the authors of this manual hoped that the individuality of the teachers would continue to be fostered.

According to the 1914 manual, the professional development of teachers consisted of four branches of knowledge: history of education, philosophy of education, school management, and methodology. Special attention was also given to the teachings of St. John Baptist De La Salle and Mother Theodore Guérin.[39]

The section on the history of education, consisting of less than two pages, presented a brief outline from pre-Christian times to the present. Sister teachers were encouraged to use the references found in the bibliography of the manual to gain a thorough knowledge of what the outline entailed.[40]

The section on the philosophy of education consisted of only seven pages and began with a statement that was reinforced by a quotation from the *Catholic Encyclopedia*:

> Education is the complete and harmonious development of every mental faculty, physical power, moral and religious tendency of the individual. "It includes all those experiences by which intelligence is developed, knowledge acquired, and character formed."[41]

The writers of *The Teacher's Guide* defined three major objectives: to bring out virtue in seeking "first the kingdom of God and His justice;" to increase students' knowledge; and to empower students by bringing out their potential in balanced proportion. One of the fundamental principles was that the learner must be able to express knowledge in order to verify the acquisition of it. Last of all was a discussion of the place of the educational work of the Sisters of Providence in the hierarchical structure of the entire Roman Catholic educational system.[42]

Forty-four pages of *The Teacher's Guide* are devoted to the methods of teaching. The first page of this section describes the general rule to be followed in the selection of methodology; namely, the teacher was to choose the method that would best match the needs and development of the learner. The following ten pages emphasize the importance of an effective student-teacher relationship. Then, the qualities of a teacher are presented. These qualities were adapted from the original writings of St. John Baptist De La Salle.[43]

Preparation, the key word, was used to summarize this section on methodology.

> In the preparation of all lessons the teacher should have in view these four steps emphasized in her Novitiate training:
>
> I. The aim of the lesson.
> II. The presentation.
> III. The associations.

(i.e. Connections with learning experiences.)
IV. The applications.

(The four points of the order of class are drill, review, daily lesson, and assignment.)[44]

The rest of the book, pages 66-187, provides specific guidelines for school management concerns such as: problems on the first day of school, fire drills, school records, discipline, examinations, grading, summer school, teachers' meetings, different types of learners, and extracurricular activities.[45]

Listed also under the guidelines of school management are the curricular concerns. The goal to be achieved was the standardization of the curriculum for all the schools taught by the Sisters of Providence. This standardization would provide a systemized organization and a continuity of the learning experience that would be flexible enough to allow for the individuality of the teacher.

> The curriculum respects the law of association—one subject being related to another. This law of correlation must not, however, be carried too far. To introduce very many and varied associations is to lead the mind from the main topic. Religion, however, should be correlated with every other study.[46]

The rest of this section includes discussions on the individual subject areas with regard to each one's specific role in the curriculum. Finally, the discussion of curriculum reiterates the importance of the role of Guérin by the King of France, Louis Philippe. This reproduction is a symbolic tribute, a statement of the initial impetus for the writing of *The Teacher's Guide*. In a significant way, this inside cover illustration seems to point directly to the reality of the words inscribed on the cross marking Mother Theodore Guérin's gravesite, **"I sleep, but my heart watches over this house which I have founded."**[47]

Notes

[1] Franz De Hovre, *Catholicism in Education*, trans. Edward B. Jordan (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1934), 190-191; John L. Spalding, D.D., *Socialism and Labor*, Chapter V.; John L. Spalding, D.D., *Opportunity and Other Essays*, Chapter 11, 49, 58.

[2] "Substantial research suggests that the teaching profession attracts men and women who desire intrinsic rewards and who approach teaching as a mission or calling." Thomas J. Lasley, ed., Introduction to "Perspectives on Reasons for Becoming Teachers," *Journal of Teacher Education*, Pamela B. Joseph and Nancy Green XXXVII 6(November-December 1986): 28.

[3] Lloyd E. Blauch, ed., *Education for the Professions*, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1955), 223.

[4] *Twenty-Third Annual Catalogue of the Indiana State Normal School 1891-92* Terre Haute. Indiana (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford. 1892). 74.

[5] Ibid., 38.

[6] R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin. *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1953). 453.

[7] Knight, 237-240.

The often cited report of the Committee of Ten in 1894 regarding secondary education placed emphasis on knowledge of the subject matter with little or no attention given to the methods of teaching as was noted in the preparation of elementary teachers. Schools of education began to require a high school diploma for admission into normal school training. Normal schools at this date offered a two-year program which included college level work. At this time also the normal schools began to prepare prospective teachers for teaching in the secondary schools. Prior to this time, the main purpose in teacher education was to prepare teachers for the rapidly expanding number of elementary schools throughout the United States.

A Committee for the Reorganization of Secondary Education formed in 1918 gave formalized direction to the previous efforts in preparing teachers for the secondary schools. "In the strictest sense, therefore, 1900 may be regarded as the approximate date when any institutions of higher education first gave full attention to the education of teachers.

"Very few secondary-school teachers were prepared by these institutions before 1920, when many of them became degree-granting teachers colleges." Blauch, 223; George Z.F. Bereday and Joseph A. Lauwerys, eds., *The Education and Training of Teachers* The Year Book of Education 1963 (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1963), 181; Edward A. Krug, *Salient Dates in American Education 1635-1954* (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1966), vi; Allan C. Ornstein and Daniel U. Levine, *An Introduction to the Foundations of Education* 2nd. ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981), 188-189.

[8] Knight, 243.

[9] Sister Maria Concepta, C.S.C., *The Making of a Sister-Teacher* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), 140; Willard S. Elsbree, *The American Teacher* (New York: 1939) 353, for period 1895-1927.

[10] Harold A. Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit* The Story of Catholic Education in the United States (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1970), 191.

Pontifical decrees issued in 1893 for Catholic education in the United States consisted of fourteen propositions. Among these propositions was a pointed statement that "what are called Normal Schools should reach such efficiency in preparing teachers of letters, arts, and sciences that their graduates shall not fail to obtain the diploma of the state." Rt. Rev. John R. Hagan, "Catholic Teacher Education," in *Essays on Catholic Education in the United States*, ed. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1942), 236; *Report of U. S. Commissioner of Education for 1894-1895*.

1667.

One major drawback, experienced both in the public and Catholic schools, was the problem resulting from the deficiency of the supply of trained teachers and the evergrowing demand for them. This led to some practices that would not benefit the professionalization of the teaching profession. "The Pastors were frantic to secure Sisters. Each September overcrowded classrooms called for more construction and more Sisters. Mothers Superior tried to meet the need of the hour to the best of their ability, and often regretfully sent out young girls just received as postulants, to take charge of classrooms; hoping that the aid of their experienced Sisters and God's grace would bring success to the works. Adequate training was impossible." Sister Bertrande Meyers D.C., *The Education of Sisters* A Plan for Integrating the Religious, Social, Cultural and Professional Training of Sisters (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1941), 8; Msgr. Francis J. Macelwane, "The Superintendent's Responsibility for the Professional Advancement of His Teachers," *N.C.E.A.*, XXVIII (November 1931): 573.

[11] Meyers, *The Education of Sisters*, 15; Rev. Morgan M. Sheedy, "Catholic Parochial Schools in the United States," quoting Dr. Schaeffer in *Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1903* (Washington D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1905), 1099.

[12] Hagan in Deferrari, 236.

[13] Buetow, 191; Concepta, *The Making of a Sister-Teacher* with a Preface by George N. Shuster, viii.

A school manual brought over from France by the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1832 contains explicit classroom directives for teachers and students. This same congregation, known in the United States as the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, published a second manual in 1883-84 summarizing the best in American educational practices that had already proven to be useful. Relevant to a recommended practice in teacher education today is that "each teacher is allowed one day in the term to visit one of the other sisters' rooms."

The following excerpts from this manual endeavor to demonstrate the expansiveness of this publication and its timely relevance to educational practice. "Do not recite the lesson for your pupils. Make them do the talking. You might as well take a walk for them and expect the exercise to benefit the class. Young teachers are always in danger of falling into this error.

"In examination, avoid unimportant details, dates, and technicalities; avoid puzzles, catches, and everything ambiguous. Let every question be clear, concise, and to the point. Avoid all questions that merely test verbal memory, or show the smartness of the examiner. No one should trust to the inspiration of the moment for questions. They should be carefully prepared in advance." *School Manual for the use of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet* 1883-84, Sisters of Saint Joseph of Carondelet Generalate Archives, St. Louis, Missouri, 68, 15, 70; J. A. Burns, C.S.C. and Bernard J. Kohlbrenner, *A History of Catholic Education in the United States* A Textbook for Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1937), 217.

[14] R.E. Shortell, "How Can Our Schools be Improved?" *American Eccle-*

siastical Review, ed. Rev. H. J. Heuser V(December 1891): 469. Regarding the idea of the erection of special normal schools for sisters: "Can we say this is altogether impossible with regard to our religious communities, which thus far have each had their separate system of training novices in the art and science of teaching."

[15] Buetow, 188; Archbishop Francesco Satolli, "Fourteen Propositions Presented November 17, 1892 to the Archbishops of the United States for the Settling of the School Question," cited in *The School Controversy, 1891-1893*, Daniel F. Reilly (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1943), 275 (Proposition XIII); Hagan in Deferrari, 236.

[16] Hagan in Deferrari, 237.

[17] Meyers, *The Education of Sisters*, 13.

"While not every Sister could or did devote Saturday afternoons and the summer vacations to professional advancement, practically every convent had several members of the highly intellectual type who spent long hours in library and laboratory, making possible real and thorough scholarship." Ibid.

[18] Reginald A. Neuwien, ed., *Catholic Schools in Action* The Notre Dame Study of Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools in the United States (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966), 11; Buetow, 190; Lambert Nolle, O.S.B., "Vocations to the Teaching Orders," *The Catholic Education Review* (February 1911), 111.

The National Catholic Educational Association which was founded in 1904 by uniting previously existing societies provided for the continued professional growth of the Catholic school teacher.

One example of the journals of education was *The Catholic Educational Review* which produced its first issue in January 1911 under the auspices of the Catholic University of America.

Regarding the importance of the personality of a teacher: "Some of us may have put the question to ourselves, 'Am I a good teacher?', having in mind the rules and principles of the normal school, but if the workman is more than his trade, and the teacher greater than his profession, it might be well also to remember the personality of the teacher, the man, the woman, behind the teacher." John E. Garvin, S.M., "Culture and the Teacher," *The Catholic Educational Association Bulletin* VI(November 1909): 295.

[19] Buetow, 190.

"A study of Catholic secondary education that was made in 1915 showed . . . 577 girls' schools of secondary grade, with an enrollment of 27,858 pupils who had completed the eighth grade. Besides these schools, which are exclusively for girls, there are many Catholic high schools that contain both boys and girls, and it was found that 11,882 girls were enrolled in such institutions. The combined figures for the two classes of schools gave an enrollment of 39,740 girls in the 1276 Catholic secondary schools in the United States." J. A. Burns, C.S.C., *Catholic Education* A Study of Conditions (New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917), III; J. A. Burns, C.S.C., "Catholic Secondary Education in the U.S.," *Bulletin of Catholic Education Association*, 1915.

[20] Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., to Mother Mary Cleophas, S.P. dated 24 May 1911. Sisters of Providence Archives, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana. Mother Grace Dammann, R.S.C.J. "The American Catholic College for Women." in *Essays on Catholic Education in the United States*, ed. Roy J. Deferrari (Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 1942), 179; Buetow, 187, 193.

The establishment of the Catholic University of America, at Washington D. C., in 1888, was due to the perserverence and zeal of John Lancaster Spalding, D.D. He recommended the establishment of a "central Normal School, a sort of Educational University," for the purpose of teacher education. DeHovre, 166; Buetow, 188.

[21] Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[22] Mother Mary Cleophas, S.P., to Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D. dated 21 May 1913. Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[23] Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[24] Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., to Mother Mary Cleophas, S.P. dated 4 May 1917. Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[25] Rt. Rev. Thomas J. Shahan, D.D., to Mother Mary Cleophas, S.P. dated 16 December 1919, Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana. This communication provides a lengthy description of the history, goals, and proposed curriculum for the Catholic Sisters College.

[26] Sister Ann Kathleen Brawley, S.P., Archivist for the Sisters of Providence, and Sister Mary Joan Kirchner, S.P., Director of Education, interviewed by author at St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 23 February 1987.

[27] Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[28] Sister Basilissa, S.P., Handwritten Note Book, Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[29] Record Book, Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana; Sister Mary Joan Kirchner, S.P., Interview.

[30] Sister Basilissa, S.P., Handwritten Notebook.

[31] "Minutes of the Meeting of the Teachers' Institute, 1891," Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 28, 30, 54-55, 60

[32] Ibid., 28.

[33] "Proceedings of the Board of Examiners of St. Mary-of-the-Woods, July 22, 1902," Sisters of Providence Archives, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 126-127.

[34] "Minutes of the Meeting of the Teachers' Institute, 1905," Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 137-138, 109, 128, 137, 139, 141.

[35] St. Mary's Academic Institute Catalogue 1898-1899. Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods College Archives, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana, 64.

[36] Ibid., 12, 14.

[37] St. Mary-of-the-Woods Catalogue 1917, St. Mary-of-the-Woods Catalogue 1918, Sisters of Providence, St. Mary-of-the-Woods College Archives, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[38] Grade Report De Paul University, Sisters of Providence Archives, Education Files, St. Mary-of-the-Woods, Indiana.

[39] *The Teacher's Guide*, 3-4; see also Footnote 32, Chapter One.

[40] *The Teacher's Guide*, 9-10.

[41] Ibid., 11-18.

[42] Ibid., 11; St. Matt. vi.-7.

[43] Ibid., 18-62.

[44] Ibid., 56-57.

[45] Ibid., 66-187.

[46] Ibid., 98-99.

[47] Sister Eugenia Logan, S.P., *History of the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods* Vol. II (Terre Haute, Indiana: Moore-Langen Printing Company, 1978), xvii, 79; Sister Mary Borromeo Brown, S.P., *History of the Sisters of Providence of Saint Mary-of-the-Woods* Vol. I (New York: Benziger Brothers, Inc., 1949), 784.

The Origin of Professional Education: The Case of the Litchfield Law School, 1784-1833

Bonnie S. Handler
Central Connecticut State University

Heidi L. Handler
University of Chicago

Litchfield Law School, 1784-1833, founded by an outstanding jurist, Tapping Reeve, was the first private law school established in the United States. As an institution, it cut across and reflected many of the most significant events and movements which helped shape legal education in America. Litchfield Law School had, in its long and successful existence, dealt with choices and decisions, conflicts of value, and questions of meaning and purpose. These are not only historically significant, but also contemporarily relevant as well.

Prior to 1776, prospective lawyers in the colonies had two avenues open to them for admission to the bar.[1] First, they could "read" law in a law office of a practicing attorney as an apprentice. But the quality and quantity that the apprentice might glean depended on the master's tutelage. Further, every attorney differed in his definition of legal educational tasks. Hence, what comprised an apprenticeship greatly differed from law office to law office as quality depended on the effort put forth by the pupil, the ability and time allotted by the master, and the stipend paid to the master for the apprenticeship.

A second avenue for an early colonist, would-be attorney, was for him to travel to Britain to study law at one of the English Inns of Court. Due to a paucity of institutions of higher education in the South, where courses in law might be offered, and the scarcity of practicing attorneys with whom an apprenticeship might be arranged, the sons of wealthy southern plantation owners deliberately chose the option of studying in England; this was in contrast to those who resided in New England and the Middle States, who preferred the apprenticeship system. Yet, until 1700, in the State of Connecticut, for example, men studied law on their own, and when they felt comfortable enough to practice, they simply hung out their shingle. Some of these law students had undergraduate college degrees from prestigious institutions such as Harvard, but even they, although well-educated in the liberal arts, were "attorneys-in-fact rather than attorneys-at-law, that is, professionally trained lawyers."[2] It was not until 1708 that Connecticut passed an act that required practicing attorneys to take an oath to uphold the law. Yet, no professional training nor any former experience in the practice of law was required.

Before the establishment of Litchfield Law School, there was no institutional form of legal education in the colonies. It was from England that we adopted the notion that practicing lawyers and judges are responsible for both legal education and admission to the bar. Hence, our roots are deeply embedded in the Anglo-American tradition, and the only model upon which American legal preparation could be based was similar to that established by the English Inns of Court. Subsequently, this model would provide the backbone for American legal education, from which the private law school would adopt its curricular innovations, advances and changes, and which would create, in turn, a legal system of education uniquely suited to the needs of the American lawyer. Further, an English attorney named Blackstone, on the Oxford University faculty, not only influenced the legal system in Britain, but also revolutionized the study of law and legal education in the colonies. Blackstone's lectures and his text titled *Commentaries*, published in the 1760's, gave structure, scope and order to the legal system, and further established the need for sequenced and systematized instruction in Common Law in a higher educational setting. Therefore, Litchfield Law School arose out of the needs of a new society which now required the formal teaching of law for professional purposes. Thus, for half-a-century, in the bucolic and scenically beautiful town of Litchfield, located in northwest Connecticut, the "gentrified elite" from every state in the Union, came to study law in the cramped, unheated and sparsely furnished quarters of Tapping Reeve and his partner, James Gould, two attorneys who were also judges, fine academicians and pedagogues. As for textbooks on the law, they were practically non-existent save for Blackstone's *Commentaries*, upon which Reeve initially institutionalized and structured his fourteen-month study. But as a legal curriculum evolved, Reeve not only utilized Blackstone's seminal ideas to provide a central foundation of legal studies, but also incorporated into the curriculum important case precedents, his own courtroom experiences, the introduction of Moot Court, and the teaching of law as a science. He further required his students to apply that science in order to bridge the gap between theory and practice. The legal curriculum of Litchfield Law School was diffused throughout the colonies, which, in turn, charted the way in American jurisprudence.[3]

Factors Contributing to the Success of Litchfield Law School

In looking at the long and prestigious history of Litchfield Law School, one wonders what factors contributed to the popularity and continued success of the school. There are interrelated reasons why Litchfield gained such a golden reputation.

First, according to the 1790 census, Litchfield appears to be the third largest town in the United States, following New York and Philadelphia. The town lay on the "great inland route from Boston to New York, as well as from Hartford to West Point."[4] Yet, prior to the establishment of the Strait's Turnpike in 1797, and the establishment of the various stagecoach lines that same year, traveling to Litchfield was accomplished by sleigh, foot, horseback or two-seated gig. Even after 1797, the stagecoach trip to Litchfield from New Haven was a long, hard day's journey.[5] Moreover, until 1877, a Connecticut law barred travel on Sundays except for necessity or charity,[6] and, although waterbound travel to Litchfield was available via New Haven, New York or Boston, it, too, required a long and tedious trip.

Second, as Reeve's reputation as an attorney, judge and educator circulated throughout New England, the South and every state of the expanding Union (even as far away as Calcutta, East India), the law school burgeoned. Reeve's educational background, pedagogical skills, legal expertise and elite connections all contributed to the school's development and unprecedented growth. Yet, the school developed naturally, rather than by design. When Reeve first began to practice law, he took in several apprentices to help defray his expenses. Soon he took a more than perfunctory interest in their progress, especially during the unsettled time prior to the Revolution, when the threat of war took precedence over civil cases in the country. Reeve was able to devote time to instructing his fledgling group who hoped for better circumstances in the country so that they could practice their profession.

Third, Tapping Reeve, the son of a Protestant minister, had been a grammar school teacher following his graduation from the College of New Jersey at Princeton (now Princeton University), and, while there, he had tutored two of the orphaned children, Sally and Aaron Burr, of the late Reverend Dr. Aaron Burr, President of the College at Princeton.[7]

Reeve fell in love with Sally and married her. As for Aaron Burr, he was Reeve's first apprentice and law student. Due to Sally's delicate health, Reeve restricted his practice to nearby Berkshire County in Massachusetts and to Litchfield County, Connecticut, where he resided. Thus he was able to spend time with his apprentices to whom he gave individualized instruction. As the number of apprentices who sought Reeve's tutelage grew, what at first had been an avocation for Reeve, turned into an occupation. After 1782, however, necessitated by increased enrollment, Reeve replaced individualized instruction with a series of sequenced and structured lectures, which encompassed not only the entire field of law, but also revolutionized the whole concept of legal education. Through this global course of legal study and with the incorporation of recitation and examination, Reeve proposed to prevent learning gaps that had frequently occurred under the apprenticeship system.

The fourth factor contributing to the success of the law school was the patriotic, Federalist nature of the curriculum itself. Tapping Reeve, like many of his educated contemporaries, was an ardent Federalist, who integrated his political ideas into his teaching. One need only read his famous *The Sixth of August* or the *Litchfield Festival* to get the flavor of his anti-Jeffersonian sentiment. That Reeve indoctrinated his students in his political outlook is not the least bit unusual, and according to Louis

Tucker, who chronicled the early days at nearby Yale College, all colleges had "a similar experience in becoming centers of sedition and Whig strongholds. There was almost unanimous support of rebellion by the colleges."[8] More than likely, students came to Litchfield already imbibing Federalist politics, and were, in fact, seeking further affirmation of their ideals when they matriculated there. This Federalist outlook partly explains why more than 200 Yale graduates came to study at Litchfield: the political association between the two schools was very close.

Other colleges also contributed to the student body at Litchfield. During the school's existence, 50 students came from Princeton, 35 from Harvard, 29 from Brown, and a total of 24 from Dartmouth, Williams and Columbia. Students came from far and wide because their alma maters did not have a law school. Thus, Litchfield Law School felt no competition from the colonial colleges until they later instituted their own law programs. As might be expected, Connecticut led in student population, followed by New York and Massachusetts. Yet, three southern states, Georgia, South Carolina and Maryland, were heavy contributors of students also (see Appendix A). With the steady increase in the number of pupils by 1784, the embrionic law school outgrew Reeve's residence. A small frame building, measuring 20 × 22 feet was then erected in Reeve's front yard. It housed the law library as well as a classroom. Here pupils, with numbed fingers wrapped in woolen mittens, labored over their law notebooks, while warmed only by a few scattered foot-stoves.[9] This small room, then, became the first structure in the country, utilized for the teaching of law.

Fifth, an undeniable attraction for students to attend Litchfield was the presence of the Litchfield Female Academy, otherwise known as Sara Pierce Academy, located near the law school. Although student life at Litchfield Law School was referred to as "private, more isolated and oriented toward a more solitary existence,"[10] students from both schools still found the opportunity for social intercourse among themselves and with the "lay" community. Very often the girls at Sara Pierce's were sisters or cousins of the law students. Then, too, it often happened that the Academy ladies and the law students boarded at the same home. The necessity for the students of both schools to room and board in private homes gave the town of Litchfield a familial atmosphere. This fact bespeaks both schools' enormous popularity. Parents sent their children to Litchfield knowing that their own values and beliefs would be upheld in a family whose background was similar to their own. In fact, several accounts of the community atmosphere of Litchfield at that time give one the sense that the entire community in which the students boarded served as an extension of the Academy itself.

Just about anyone who was middle-class or above had boarding students in his home, not only for financial reasons, but also for the benefit of the intellectual and cultural stimulation the relationship would provide. In other words, social discourse with the students in the household provided a much welcomed diversion, as books and other printed matter were very scarce. Several sources maintain that student theatricals and academic exhibitions or examinations were frequently the high points of the community calendar. Sleigh rides, long walks, frequent dances and suppers were all supplementary activities to the academic atmosphere. Yet, for all the activities offered by the community, there was one diversion in Litchfield that no one dared to miss: that was when Court was in session. All classes of citizenry enjoyed witnessing the real-life theatrics of the "fighting-bar" of Litchfield County. In an era when the law was such an intrinsic part of life in the community, those citizens who were impressed by the eloquence of the legal process often took sport at playing the legal game.

> Every case — arguments of counsel, rulings from the bench, procedure, points of law — would have been reviewed in more popular tribunals when court adjourned: in taverns, in stores, and in the Moot Court of the Law School. There were ruder forums, too, lit only by stable lantern or fire that still glimmered on the forge of some late-working smith, where apprentices who could manage to steal out, after their day's labor was done, gathered to hear the livelier accounts of the furnacemen and the teamsters who loved "lawing" quite as well as their betters, and understood, no whit less, the ins and outs of that ancient game.[11]

Litchfield in her "glory days" was a tight-knit community that deeply valued education. A "safe" town, remote from the exigencies of the Revolutionary War, Litchfield's sophisticated political leadership focused on creating conditions conducive to growth and development of two of America's earliest "pioneer" educational institutions. And, as "pioneers" who depended on each other for their existence, Sara Pierce Academy and Litchfield Law School had a symbiotic relationship. The national enrollments of the Litchfield Law School greatly enhanced Sara Pierce Academy's ability to draw its students from throughout the land. Moreover, the two schools' presence in Litchfield greatly contributed to the "economic" growth of the community. In this sense, the town and the schools were interdependent.

A sixth reason for the success of the law school lies in the selection of James Gould as Reeve's associate. In 1798, when Reeve was appointed to the Superior Court of Connecticut, he found it difficult, concurrently, to attend to his duties on the bench and administrate the law school. Therefore, he took on one of his former pupils to help with the expanding duties of operating the school. When, however, Judge Reeve was not holding Court, he conducted all of the lectures at the school and he sent Gould out to try cases.

Gould, a Yale graduate, had, like Reeve, been a teacher prior to entering the law. His strength lay in his ability as an administrator, organizer and lecturer. The teaching styles of Reeve and Gould differed greatly. Reeve is described as delivering his lectures extemporaneously, showing great emotional feeling and enthusiasm for the law. And though his written notes provided a basis for his lectures, he continually digressed, citing examples of important cases. Gould, on the other hand, lectured in a calm and dignified manner. He relied heavily on his notes and read from them exclusively. One former Litchfield pupil, Charles Loring, capsulized Reeve's teaching style:

> . . . (he) invested the law with all the genial enthusiasm and generous feelings, and noble sentiment of a large heart, and decanted to us with glowing eloquence upon the sacredness and majesty of the law.[12]

Reeve's concern that his students have a complete set of notes for review caused him to speak slowly, and because of his inability to speak above a raspy whisper, he tried to enunciate clearly. Gould, on the other hand, spoke rapidly, especially when he became involved with the subject matter at hand. Gould's affliction was his poor eyesight. Known for his brilliant organization of legal materials, Gould "read his able and finished lectures with a cold dignity."[13] Whereas Gould was the more respected for his intellectual capacity and brilliance as a scholar, Reeve was thought of with more affection. Both men were well-respected and socially prominent citizens of the community, and both became judges. In 1818, however, after the Federalist party lost the election and Gould was not reappointed to the bench, he turned his energies exclusively to the law school.

Reeve and Gould divided the curriculum according to their areas of expertise and interest. Gould's specialty was his extensive knowledge of common law and his ability in pleading; Reeve's specialty was the teaching of law in reference to rights (especially women's rights) and domestic relations. Although it appears that Gould was intellectually superior to Reeve and the students covered more subject matter in his classes, it was Reeve whom the students loved. Although both Reeve and Gould had different temperaments, work habits and approaches to the teaching of law, they complemented one another favorably enough to bring breadth to the law school program.

Seventh, the success of the law school was due in part to the extensive national curriculum offered. As stated previously, learning law at Litchfield was superior to the usual "reading" of law in a lawyer's private office. Apprenticed law students were confined to assigned tasks without the opportunity of obtaining a broad picture of the law. Moreover, in the apprenticeship program, research materials were limited. At Litchfield, Reeve began his course of study with an introduction to the law, utilizing references and sources from which the law was derived. He used both ancient and modern sources as well as customs and statutes. Many of his lectures were devoted to the principles of law, followed by a set of rules for their application and interpretation. Each legal subject was broken down into digestible, subsidiary topics designed to better prepare the student for the practice of law.

The subject matter of Reeve's curriculum demonstrates just how elementary the practice of law was in that era. When Reeve began to lecture, there were no law reports, and the body of the law (based loosely on the English law) was, as yet, poorly defined. The interpretation of common law was subject to much difference of opinion, and no national Constitutional Law yet existed. Hence, the states had adopted their own constitutions and each state had its own laws. Reeve had, then, to illustrate his cases by using both English common law and the state precedents. Thus, when Litchfield Law School was begun, it had a clear field in selecting topics that related to the establishment of a new country where the idea of freedom and conscience prevailed.

Reeve spent much of the tuition money for the purchase of English-authored law books in order to stock an adequate law library (see Appendix C). From the notebook of Ely Warner, a law student at Litchfield, 1808-1809, it is obvious that students learned, primarily, English law. Warner states that his first assignment was to copy into his notebook ". . . a Chronological Chart of Reports of cases adjudged in the Courts of Law and Equity in England, Exhibiting the Time of the Reports and Judges Who Presided."[14]

Lectures were held at the law school on weekdays. Mornings were spent in lecture and afternoons were occupied by comparing, rewriting and discussing the lecture notes of that morning.[15] On Monday evenings, from six o'clock to nine o'clock, Moot Court took place. There the students had their chance to role-play judges and attorneys, and to argue hypothetical cases before their peers. All student decisions were reviewed by either Reeve or Gould. Thus, the Moot Court experience provided valuable, practical experience in arguing and judging cases.

After Gould became associated with Litchfield, the curriculum was further expanded and sequenced to include forty-eight topics (see Appendix B). Oral examinations were held every Saturday based on the previous week's lectures. Students were not only expected to memorize the rules of law, but also to be examined on exercises of judgment. Friday afternoons were usually devoted to special lectures on selected topics. Moreover, by 1820, when Reeve retired and Gould became the school's sole director, the curriculum had begun to reflect the growth of government, industrialization and urbanization of the early 19th century.[16]

The course of study at Litchfield Law School required between fourteen and eighteen months for completion. It included a Summer term, a Fall term, followed by a four-week break, and then a Spring term, followed by another four-week interlude. This calendar schedule was patterned after the undergraduate institutions of the day. As formal graduation exercises were virtually unknown at that time, as were diplomas, Litchfield Law students received a certificate of completion of the prescribed course of study. This was coveted both for employment purposes and as a prestigious accomplishment.

Eighth, the success of Litchfield was due in part to the extensive prominent contacts Reeve had made. Reeve had married into a well-connected and well-to-do family. Given Reeve's endearing personality and fine educational background, he moved freely and interacted widely with the intellectuals and gentry of that era. His friendship with such prominent men as Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College, the Rev. Cotton Mather Smith, the Rev. Lyman Beecher (father of Catherine and Harriet Beecher Stowe), George Washington, Lafayette and Rochambeau, helped promote Litchfield's reputation.

Finally, Litchfield Law School produced so many distinguished sons that the school's reputation was self-perpetuating. Two of Litchfield's students became Vice-Presidents of the United States, Aaron Burr and John C. Calhoun; three students became justices of the U.S. Supreme Court; six became Cabinet Members; one became Secretary of the Treasury; two, Secretary of State; over one hundred Congressmen; twenty-eight Senators; fourteen State Governors; ten Lieutenant Governors; and several presided over the largest railroads in the nation. In all, Litchfield graduated over 1,001 attorneys and produced numerous judges, politicians and even a famous artist. Finally, Litchfield produced graduates who chose careers in education, such as Horace Mann, proponent of the common school movement in Massachusetts and President of Antioch College. Four other college presidents completed Litchfield Law School as well.

Some historic inferences that can be drawn from the enrollment figures are that the American Revolution left Reeve with no students during its duration, but a pool of potential students afterwards; conversely, the War of 1812 saw a flood of students into the school during the war. These contrasts may reflect the patriotic support of colonials to the respective wars. The rush into Reeve's school in his last year of life may reflect the rumor that it was their "last chance" to study under Reeve, as he was steadily declining in health. After his death, the numbers show a relatively steady decline. This may indicate that the success of the school was directly related to Reeve's presence and could not be sustained by Gould alone.

The Demise of Litchfield Law School

Litchfield Law School closed its doors in 1833, due in part to the ill health of James Gould. Moreover, for the preceding seven years prior to the school's demise, matriculation at the institution had declined sharply, perhaps due to population shift to new urbanized centers and the bypassing of Litchfield by the railroads, making it less accessible. Declining enrollment was coupled with the fact that many students were selling their law notes to third parties who had not attended Litchfield; thus decreasing Gould's income as well. Then, too, other law schools such as Yale, Harvard, U. of Virginia, Columbia, Pennsylvania and William and Mary had begun to compete fiercely with Litchfield for students. Ironically, most of these schools of law employed Litchfield graduates as faculty. These men, with the inclusion of legal and modified curricular changes, echoed what they had been taught at Litchfield, and thus the Litchfield tradition was perpetuated.

As we have shown, Litchfield Law School was not only the first private law school in the new nation, but also the first to incorporate a curriculum which was national in character. Moreover, both Tapping Reeve and James Gould were among the first and best known legal educators of their day. After finishing Litchfield Law School, the students were placed in apprenticeships with practicing attorneys so that they could gain the practical skills needed. This corresponds in part to the third year of our modern day law school. Thus, both Reeve and Gould were far-sighted in setting the stage for modern day legal education.

Finally, it appears that Tapping Reeve did not set out to found a law school: the school grew out of an extension of his law office. Further, that the student population came from all parts of the country is testament that Reeve and Gould offered a unique program — more comprehensive than the apprenticeship system and much cheaper than studying in England.[17] Additionally, Reeve constructed a building expressly for the study of law, which set the precedent for other law schools to follow.

Unquestionably, Reeve and Gould were responsible for influencing the nation politically, socially and legally — through the education of their pupils. This is evident by looking at the large proportion of distinguished alumni Litchfield produced. In perusing the original law lectures written in both Reeve's and Gould's hand, it is evident that they incorporated their political viewpoints, and thus indoctrinated their pupils in Federalism. Reeve and Gould, then, taught much more than mere legal facts; they molded bright, young minds to become scholars, to love learning the law, to handle law cases competently, and, above all, to solve the great problems facing the state and nation.

Notes

[1] Admission to the "Bar" comes from the establishment of the English Inns of Court. Students called to the Bar had to be at least twenty-one years of age, and they had to have studied law for a period of twelve terms. Further, they had to be a member of either the House of Lords or Commons. (In the case of a student who was a university graduate, residency in one of the Houses was reduced to three years.) Students in Britain who pursued law as an occupation did so by the right of birth or wealth. Their education was relatively poor, consisting mainly of the study of English Law, conducting of mock trials, reading scriptures, historical chronicles, physical exercises, and dancing and singing. After a "reasonable" length of study (no competency examinations were administered), an application for admission to practice Common Law was granted.

[2] Chroust, Canton and Herman Chroust. *The Rise of the Legal Profession in America.* Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965, p. 117-121.

[3] It might be noted that although Litchfield Law School is credited with being the first private law school in existence, several colleges offered courses in the law that were integrated into their college curricula. The most notable instructor was George Weythe, who, in the 1700's, offered a class in legal studies at the College of William and Mary, and who taught and apprenticed Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay and John Marshall. Several unsuccessful attempts were made at establishing law schools within universities and colleges in the 1700's and early 1800's. These included a course of study at the College of Philadelphia (which merged with the University of Pennsylvania in 1792), and at Hamilton College.

[4] Kilbourne, Payne Kenyon. *A Biographical History of Litchfield County.* New York: Clark, Auston and Co., 1851, p. 167.

[5] Shepard, Henry L. *Litchfield, Portrait of a Beautiful Town.* Litchfield: Enquirer Print, 1969, p. 3.

[6] Earl, Alice Morse. *Stage Coach and Tavern Day.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1902, p. 226.

[7] Sally and Aaron Burr were also the grandchildren of Jonathan Edwards.

[8] Tucker, Louis L. *Connecticut's Seminary of Sedition: Yale College.* Chester, Ct.: Pequot Press, 1974, p. 121.

[9] Swanson, Eleanor R. *Tapping Reeve: American Law Pioneer.* Litchfield: Enquirer Print, 1921, p. 12.

[10] McKenna, Marion C. *Tapping Reeve and the Litchfield Law School.* New York: Oceana, 1986, p. 112.

[11] Seymour, Morris W. "Presentation of the Reeve Law School Building to the Litchfield Historical Society at Litchfield, Ct." August 22, 1911, p. 24-25.

[12] White, Alan C. *The History of Litchfield.* Litchfield: Enquirer Print, 1920, p. 103.

[13] McKenna, Marion C. *Tapping Reeve and The Litchfield Law School.* New York: Oceana, 1986, p. 169.

[14] Coleman, Ronald L. "Learning the Law at Richfield." *Connecticut Bar Journal*, Vol. 35, 1960, p. 270-276.

[15] Litchfield students prized their notebooks. These ready reference books were often the mainstay of their personal legal libraries. There is also evidence that Litchfield law students allowed non-graduates to copy their notebooks, sometimes for a fee.

[16] Coleman, Ronald L. "Learning Law at Litchfield," *Connecticut Bar Journal*, Vol. 35, 1960, p. 273.

[17] For the entire duration of Litchfield Law School, the tuition remained set at $100.00 for the first year and $60.00 for any part of the second year.

Appendix A

Year	Enrollment	States Represented
1774	1	CT
1775	1	CT
1776	0	
1777	0	
1778	3	
1779	—	
1780	—	
1781	—	
1782	—	
1783	—	
1784	—	
1785	2	
1786	3	
1787	5	
1788	4	
1789	4	
1790	6	
1791	6	
1792	7	
1793	6	
1794	9	
1795	3	
1796	17	
1797	9	
1798	21	CR, NH, GA, NY
1799	10	VT, CT, MA
1800	11	CT, MA, NH, SC, GA
1801	16	CT, GA, VT, NY, NH
1802	11	CT, GA, MA, VT
1803	9	CT, MA, VT
1804	9	CT, GA, VT, MA
1805	11	CT, NH, RI, MA
1806	11	CT, MA, GA, SC, NH, PA
1807	9	CT, NY, MA, GA, LA
1808	18	DE, CT, MD, NH, MA, KY
1809	30	CT, NH,SC, DE, MD, KY, NY
1810	41	CT, SC, GA, MD, RI, MA, PA, KY, NY, DE, Calcutta, E, India
1811	18	CT, MA, NH, VA, MD, NC, VT, SC, RI, NJ
1812	36	VT, MA, NH, NY, PA, VA, DE, RI
1813	55	NC, MA, RI, PA, NJ, DE, NY, GA, DC, VA, VT, KY
1814	33	MD, MA, NY, SC, NJ, CT, GA, SC
1815	20	MD, NY, DE, SC, MA, GA, CT, OH, NC, KY, VT
1816	17	GA, MD, DE, RI, SC, LA, CT, KY, NH

1817	43	GA, MA, CT, VA, NY, MD, MS, SC, NC, PA, RI, ME, DE, LA
1818	34	RI, ME, DE, LA, SC, RI, NY, NC, ME, CT, NJ, GA, VA, NH, MA, LA
1819	18	NC, CT, SC, GA, NY, PA, ME, MA, MD, VA
1820	26	NY, SC, PA, GA, CT, MD, OH, MA, VT, NC, RI, DC
1821	26	MD, SC, VT, GA, MA, VA, LA, NH, NY, CT, RI, PA
1822	23	GA, MA, CT, PA, VT, MD, NY, SC
1823*	44	NC, VA, DE, PA, NH, GA, NY, SC, CT, MA, VT, RI, IN
1824	23	NY, CT, MD, GA, RI, SC, DC, VT, PA, VA
1825	24	CT, NY, PA, GA, SC, LA, MA, VC, NC, NJ, RI
1826	32	SC, RI, NY, MA, CT, VA, NC, LA, VT, NJ
1827	19	NY, VA, NJ, CT, LA, PA, AL, VT, MD, SC, PA, AL, VT, MD
1828	18	SC, PA, MD, NY, VT, CT, AL, MA, MO
1829	16	PA, NY, CT, MA, GA, OH
1830	14	NY, CT, VT
1831	9	CT, NY, MD, NC
1832	11	VA, MD, NH, GA, MA, NY VT
1833	6	TN, NY, CT

Source: Litchfield Law School Catalogues of Students, 1798-1833. Published by the Students, Case, Tiffany & Co., Hartford, 1849.

*Tapping Reeve's death

Note: Accurate enrollment figures for 1774-1797 are not available. Information given here is partial and derived from an alphabetical listing of all known graduates by name. A discrepancy exists in the magnitude of 134 unaccounted for students prior to 1798.

Appendix B

Lectures Delivered at the Litchfield Law School

	Title of Course	Lecturer	Pages
1.	Municipal Law	Gould	49-75
2.	Baron and Femme	Reeve	92-141
3.	Master and Servant	"	41-70
4.	Parent and Child	"	48-143
5.	Guardian and Ward	"	10
6.	Sheriff and Gaoler	"	25-58
7.	Contracts	Gould	113-210
8.	Bailments	"	38-167
9.	Inns and Innkeepers	"	7-9
10.	Action for Covenant Broken	"	42-92
11.	Action for Debt	"	8-38
12.	Action for Detinue	"	2
13.	Action of Account	"	9-19

14.	Notice and Request	"	3-4
15.	Assumpsit	"	31-97
16.	Defenses to Actions	"	72-81
18.	Evidence	Reeve	60-161
19.	Pleas and Pleading	Gould	144-232
20.	New Trials	"	22-29
21.	Bills of Exception	"	22-34
22.	Writs of Error	"	
23.	Practice in Connecticut	"	62-67
24.	Insurance	Reeve	30-122
25.	Partnership	"	7-11
26.	Chancery	"	26-89
27.	Public Wrongs or Criminal Law	"	56-143
28.	Real Property and Mortgages	Gould	115-504
29.	Wills and Devises	Reeve	53-107
30.	Executors and Administrators	"	41-141
31.	Audita Querela	"	1-2
32.	Mandamus	Gould	5
33.	Prohibition	"	2
34.	Habeas Corpus	"	3-4
35.	Quo Warranto	Reeve	1
36.	Highways	?	7
37.	Statute of Limitations	?	16
38.	Statute of Frauds	Gould	46
39.	Mercantile Law	"	48-215
40.	Charles Parties	Reeve	5-12
41.	Joint Ownership	?	2
42.	Seamen's Wages and Sailors' Contracts	Reeve	5-12
43.	Covenant of Seisin and Warranty	Gould	
44.	Fraudulent Conveyance	"	33-51
45.	Bills of Exchange	Reeve	73-146
46.	Factors or Agency	"	3-6
47.	Title by Deed	Gould	40
48.	Stoppage in Transitu	Reeve	2

Fisher, Samuel H. *Litchfield Law School 1775-1833*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933.

Appendix C

Books and Reports

Blackstone's *Commentaries*
Powell's *Elementary Treatises*
Wooddeson's *Lectures*
'Espinasse's *Nisi Prius*
Kyd on *Awards*
Jones on *Bailments*, *Doctor & Student*
Lovelass on *Wills*
Gilbert's *Law of Evidence*
Swift's *System of Laws of Connecticut*
Lawyer's Magazine
Cooke's *Bankrupt Laws*

Gilbert on *Devises*
Wilson on *Awards*
Sullivan's *Lectures, Baron & Femme*
Boote's *Historical Treatisea*
Cunningham on *Bills of Exchange*
Jacob's *Introduction, Law of Awards*
Bacon's *Abridgment, Law of Costs*
Kames' *Historical Law Tracts Institutic Legalis, Tracts of the English Constitution*
Gilbert's *Common Pleas*

Fisher, Samuel H. *Litchfield Law School 1775-1833*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1933.

Part IV

HISTORY FROM THE INSIDE: CURRICULUM, TEACHERS, STUDENTS, AND BUSINESS IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA

The Educational Experiences of Ethnic and American Students in the Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1911-1928

Don T. Martin and William E. Bickel
University of Pittsburgh

Overview

This study will describe and comparatively analyze the educational experiences of two groups of children in the public schools of Pittsburgh, 1911-1928; immigrant or ethnic students (e.g., one or more foreign born parent in a home) and non-immigrant or American students (both parents born in U.S.). Comparisons will be made in relationship to ethnicity in four categories:

1. grade attainment
2. distribution of educational resources;
3. isolation in school settings;
4. representation in selected educational innovations.

This research has relied mainly on the analysis of quantifiable data. We think that given the nature of the questions and the level of our district-wide analysis, the examination of such data provides a reasonably sound method of identifying certain trends and relationships. Second, this strategy offers a link between historical research and other types of contemporary educational research, particularly empirical evaluation research. However, it is recognized that the emphasis on quantifiable data has serious limitations. For one, this approach risks the danger of over-simplification since this social setting is fraught with many complex social phenomena that limit interpretation, even when statistical documentation is possible. Moreover, quantifiable data are often not available, or are aggregated in ways that make it difficult to combine within time periods. These limitations require that future analyses of available descriptive material be conducted to test and supplement the conclusions drawn from a review of statistical relationships. All available sources of information will be considered during the course of the investigation.

Another concern of this study (not grounded in methodological issues) is the danger of viewing all ethnic experiences as monolithic in nature. We are aware that the educational experiences of the children of immigrants from different ethnic backgrounds early in this century were varied and complex. Work by Cohen[1] and Olneck and Lazerson[2] have clearly demonstrated significant differences. Some evidence will be presented to suggest that class can be as much or more a factor as ethnicity in determining the outcomes of the educational experiences of ethnic and American students. The experiences of students from different ethnic groups from this period under study will be documented as data permits. We are also aware of the importance of race and gender in analyzing educational experiences, but we have limited our study to ethnicity and to a lesser extent to class.

This paper is organized into the following sections: (1) the broad economic, social and educational background of Pittsburgh; (2) the specifics of the research design; (3) findings in several areas; and (4) a discussion of the implications of these findings for future research.

World's Industrial Workshop. By the turn of the century Pittsburgh was already well into a period of enormous economic growth. In 1903, Lincoln Steffens described it physically as "hell with a lid on." Industrialization radically increased the need for iron and steel. From being the hearth of the nation, Pittsburgh grew to become the world's leading iron and steel producer. This was not achieved without important social consequences. Notoriously known throughout the world as the smoky city, serious unhealthful conditions prevailed during the first half of the twentieth century.

At the turn of the century, Pittsburgh had become the city of giant corporations (led by United States Steel) and headed by powerful multimillionaire "captains of industry." The contrast between huge fortunes and grinding poverty eventually resulted in the pitting of the rich against the poor in reoccurring violent labor struggles. In no aspect of life were the social and economic implications of industrialization more clearly manifested than in worker/management relationships. Workers were subjected to the virtual absolute power of their employers and most had to constantly struggle to survive from within the shadows of poverty. This contrasted sharply to the opulent lifestyles of the industrial business and financial elites.

The Southern and Eastern European immigrants formed the backbone of cheap labor for industry in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The writings of the muckrakers in the first decade of the 20th century vividly portrayed the growing social ills prevalent in American cities at that time, most of which were exacerbated by the mass influx of immigrants. One of the most severe problems was the difficulty of providing children of immigrants with a schooling experience, and nowhere was this more evident than in Pittsburgh, "the city of immigrants."

The Move to a Centralized School System. The watershed years in the development of public schooling in Pittsburgh are the years of reorganization and centralization, 1911-1928. Prior to 1911 the Pittsburgh district had been a loosely confederated organization of 61 subdistricts each with its own elected school board and power to tax, as well as to hire and to fire teachers. In 1911 a single unified system was created under one central court-appointed board, which managed the schools through a centralized administrative bureaucracy.[3]

The reorganization and centralization of the Pittsburgh Public Schools (PPS) came as a result of three convergent pressures. The decentralized system had for some time been under the scrutiny of "reform groups" who claimed that graft, political corruption, and shady financial dealings were the order of the day.[4] Pittsburgh's industrial elite were the most powerful voices of these reform groups. Iron and steel magnates such as David B. Oliver (soon to become the first president of the centralized school board) decried the alleged gross inefficiencies and the curricular backwardness of the ward school districts.[5]

A third pressure for reorganization resulted from the influx of southern and eastern European immigrants into the city. One of the major criticisms of the earlier reformers concerned the overcrowded schools in the ward districts, particularly those with a high percentage of foreign born. In 1900 Pittsburgh had a population of 26.4% foreign born.[6] Within ten years, and just as reorganization took place, immigration to Pittsburgh peaked as the total foreign born population reached 46%.[7] This influx of immigrant children required not only additional seats at all levels but also the initiation of special educational programs. The uniqueness and urgency of the times were noted in a 1913 report on the expansion and use of kindergartens under the centralized system.

> The fact that 45% of the children (in kindergarten) come from homes where the English language is but slightly known, makes this department of the schools a very present help in the family use of English. The training of the child to speak the language from the very necessities of kindergarten association open the way for intelligent and sympathetic cooperation with the non-English speaking parents, hastens their amalgamation with the better elements of community life and results in the ready acceptance of high social standards. No better medium can be found for reaching the great body of alien races crowding into our city and making them a vital part of our civic, industrial, and social life than the little child in whom all the interests of life and labor and love find a common center.[8]

Therefore, reformers, especially industrial elites, and the growing presence and problems presented by immigrants contributed significantly to the centralization of the Pittsburgh School System in 1911. The decade and one half following the centralization of the school system was marked by three important developments:

1. a continued rapid growth in student population;
2. the creation of a widely diversified curriculum to meet the needs of the students, particularly immigrant children; and,
3. the utilization of a business management model to efficiently guide the expansion of services offered by the public schools at the least possible cost.

By 1926 the time was ripe for an assessment of the accomplishments of the centralized administration. Superintendent William M. Davidson (who presided over the administration of the schools during the period of centralization),[9] in a letter to the president of the board, Marcus Aaron, called for the initiation of a major study of the district.[10] The board approved Superintendent Davidson's request and ordered that a study be made. The raw data collected in this survey as well as the final report issued in 1928 will be a key source in this study.

The year 1927, that forms our primary data point, reveals a number of important features. This year was fraught with organizational change for the district. The pressure for change emerged from the need to assimilate a radically different, culturally diverse immigrant population into the educational mainstream and from a recognition that a changing economy was placing new demands upon school programs and resources. Indeed, organizational reform was needed in spite of extreme financial pressures on the district. In the main, the financial crisis resulted from the burgeoning growth in the number of diverse pupils to be served, as well as significant social and educational problems emerging at that time.

Research Strategy

The basic task of this study is to describe and compare the educational experiences of ethnic or immigrant and American or non-immigrant students earlier in this century. School level data (primarily at the secondary level) aggregated by target group (i.e., children of immigrant parents and American born parents) are used for comparisons. The distribution of resources for each period, and the educational attainments of each group, are of interest as "raw scores," and as measures of status relative to each group's peers. It is the relative status of each that is the key information in the analysis.

General patterns (i.e., district-wide) of resource distributions and attainments will be noted. This will be followed by the close comparison of a sample number of schools. The sample of schools, and the data used, varies across analyses. The nature of the question and the availability of the data dictated what data were used in each analysis. Issues concerning the comparability of data and the limitation of it will be discussed in a later section.

Description of Data. It is fortunate in Pittsburgh that several primary sources are both reasonably detailed and accessible. For program descriptions, the Annual Reports of the Board of Education[11] provide a rich data source. These reports began as a new series in 1912, the close of the first year of centralization. Because of the business-efficiency and reform atmosphere which surrounded that first appointed Board, these reports provide extremely detailed information on the distribution of educational resources within the district. Thus, cost per pupil breakdowns by school are available for such items as textbooks, kindergarten and vocational supplies, as well as are measures of size and the quality of the physical plant. The Annual Reports are supplemented by the regularly published Board Minutes.[12] While these minutes contain fewer program descriptions, they are most useful in providing supporting data on specific actions taken by the Board during a given year.

Another primary source of information on the educational experiences of the children of immigrants is the previously mentioned report published by the school district in 1928.[13] This report was initiated by the Board of Education and the Superintendent in the summer of 1926,[14] set out

> to ascertain how far the program of studies of the public schools of Pittsburgh is adequate to present day needs; how far the organization, administration, and supervision of the schools are such as to secure the best educational returns consistent with the economical expenditure of the funds available for their support; and the extent to which the present trends of development are in accordance with the best recognized theory and practice of city school systems in this country.[15]

The study was based upon an extensive survey by the commission and had five major components:

1. comprehensive reports from departmental heads;
2. corresponding reports from all principals;
3. central office reports on staff experience and training;
4. principal reports on building use; and,
5. teacher reports on their daily schedules.

The final report issued in 1928 summarizes the data from the surveys. While this study was ostensibly conducted by an outside commission, the final report is a relatively uncritical document. Of greater interest has been the discovery of some of the original survey data that was used to construct the 1928 document. Specifically, the original survey replies of department directors and of individual school principals have been uncovered in the archives of the district.[16] These resources provide reasonably good descriptions of the distribution of school resources and programs of the period and will constitute a major part of our data for that time.

Data

Total school enrollment (in attendance) in Pittsburgh had grown from 69,592 in 1913, one year after centralization, to 100, 626 by 1927 (Table 1). In 1921, the year separate high school statistics began to be recorded, 9,782 were enrolled in day programs, with an additional 5,974 students in the summer and evening high school programs, or a total of 18% of the total school population (Tables 1 and 2). These figures rose to 11,556 and 10,575, respectively in 1927, or a total of 22% (Tables 1 and 2). Students were housed in 162 schools. Table 3 details the building utilization by grade level and/or program. This system was supported by a total school budget of 12 million dollars.

Precise statistics for percent of ethnic students in the schools are not readily available for these years. However, the Special Commission Survey Report does show an approximate enrollment in the elementary schools of 43% foreign born, 9.5% "colored" with the remaining 48% being designated as "Americans."[17] As the report notes, these represent approximations rather than exact figures due to errors in the surveying process. The distribution of ethnic groups in the day elementary schools is given in Table 4. The percentages given for ethnic enrollment are higher than one would predict from city census statistics which at that time were roughly 34%[18] foreign born.

Grade Attainment. A sense of how ethnic students progressed through the district can be derived from a comparison of the total elementary day school population (43%) with available figures for day high school enrollment. For example, a composite report on five "Six Year High Schools" lists the percentage of ethnic students at 35% in 1927.[19] Individual reports from eight high schools give a total average ethnic percentage of 34% (Table 5). These eight high schools have a total enrollment of 10,475 or approximately 47% of the total high school (day, night, summer) population, then 22,131 students. Although the 35% and 34% of ethnic students in these two sets of schools cannot be considered as completely representative of the system, the facts do give a good indication of the number of the children of foreign born parents then enrolled in the high schools of Pittsburgh.[20]

A more significant statistic than levels of enrollment is the retention power of the district. That is, what percentage of students entering the 9th grade remain through the 12th grade? Our analysis of this period compares the percentage of ethnic students and the percentage American students in the 9th grades to each group's percentage in the 12th grade. It should be noted that in the absence of longitudinal data this analysis must assume a relatively constant distribution over age groups of the number of ethnic and American children in the city during this period. It must also assume a relatively stable population (i.e., few transfers) within the district. (This latter assumption tends to be more valid at the secondary than the elementary school level.) If these assumptions are correct, any differences between 9th and 12th grade enrollments in a single year can be interpreted as likely measures of the attainment trends for each group. The results of our analysis are reported in Tables 6 and 7.

Four high schools in 1927 had both 9th and 12th grade statistics by ethnic group (Table 6). One additional high school had statistics that permitted the comparison of 10th and 12th grade enrollments (Table 6). The four school analysis indicated there were 43% and 49.9% fewer American and ethnic students, respectively, in the 12th than in the 9th grade. The single school analysis showed that there were 23% and 35% fewer American and ethnic students in 12th grade than were in the 10th grade.

If our assumption is correct that age group distributions are relatively constant, then these data demonstrate a trend that children of native born parents have a higher chance of remaining in school through the 12th grade, having entered high school, than an ethnic student. However, the chance difference is not overwhelming (i.e., 7% greater for the four school analysis and 12% based upon the single school data).

The results of all the grade attainment analyses are summarized in Table 7. As pointed out above, the relative position of children of immigrants in 1927 to his/her peers was not significantly better than that of American students.

It was noted earlier that the educational experiences of ethnic groups varied significantly. To simply look at ethnic differences in aggregate form could conceal such variance. Three individual school principal reports contained data that permitted the analysis of ethnic group variance. The results of the analysis are contained in Table 8.

Five ethnic groups (Austrian, German, Irish, Italian, Polish) were chosen for comparison along with the American classification. These ethnic groups were selected because they were the largest ethnic populations in the district, and in the three schools used in the analysis.

It is clear that the results summarized in Table 8 confirm the findings of others in that grade attainment varied widely among ethnic groups. In our sample, there was an extremely high retention rate of 88% among Austrians, to a low of 28% to 20% among Italians and Poles. Although this is reasonably indicative of the retention rates then, caution however, should be used in drawing conclusions from analyses based upon such small samples. Further research is required to establish a more certain picture of what the system-wide trends were for the 1927 period.

Distribution of Education Resources. Data were collected on nine secondary schools in thirteen categories of school expenditure or resource allocation. An analysis of these data indicates some interesting trends in three areas: (1) distribution of manual training, (2) school overload, and, (3) average number of pupils per classroom.

Two schools, 07 and 09 were chosen for purposes of comparison. These schools were selected because they were roughly comparable in size, age, and especially because they represent extremes in the number of foreign born students enrolled.

Per pupil costs for manual training represent one measure of the amount of vocational education going on in a school. The mean cost per pupil for all 9 schools in our sample was $3.63. If school 04 is dropped out of the analysis (this school was very small and was to be closed at the end of the year) this mean drops to $2.62. School 07, with 19% ethnic had a cost per pupil expenditure of $2.90 as compared to school 09 with a percent ethnic of 70%, with a cost per pupil for manual supplies of $3.04. Thus both schools were above the mean and did not differ to any significant degree.

The mean among the nine schools for average number of pupils per classroom (normal capacity) was 22.5. School 07 (low percent ethnic) had an average number of pupils per classroom of 25 while school 09 (high percent foreign born) had an extremely low number of 13. The extent of the disparity was striking between the two schools.

When one examines the class average in the junior high sections of these schools (30 for school 07 and 35 for 09) the high school difference becomes more understandable. The class size in the school with the greatest number of ethnic students (09) drops from 35 in the junior high grade to the 13 reported above in the upper levels. This range can most likely be attributed to a dramatic outflow of students that probably occurred after the eighth grade rather than any increase in educational resources (i.e., numbers of teachers and classrooms) available to students entering the high school grades.

When the eight schools in our sample, having appropriate data, are compared in terms of overload/underload, seven of the eight have a student overload problem. The overload range extends from a low of 38 (school 07) to a high of 782 (school 08) with a mean of 253 students. (One school, 04, has an overload of three students.) In comparing school 07 (low ethnic) to 09 (high ethnic), the overloads are 38 and 63 respectively.

To summarize the results of this analysis, ethnic students in our comparison schools tended to receive similar manual training support, in smaller classes, than their American peers. This occurred in roughly similar school settings, that is in school buildings that were considered to be slightly overcrowded by the standards of the period. Moreover, the children of immigrants did not generally benefit from resource allocation schemes. But ethnic students were receiving support that was roughly similar to that experienced by American students. However, this it must be said again, is based on limited data reviews.

Social Class and Grade Attainment. Although the relationship between class and ethnicity to the educational experiences of students is a concern in this study, we are, unfortunately, limited to asking questions related to class because of the paucity of explicit data on individual school populations. However, in the individual principal's response to the Commission's survey, occupational data were given. That is, the number of students were given by school whose fathers (or head of family) were identified by occupation.

The occupational information has been used to construct a rough measure of the socio-economic status of students in nine high schools. The SES measure assumes a status and income progression from low to high across four occupational categories with industrial workers at the low end and professionals at the top. Each category was given a weight (i.e., industrial workers/1; clerks/2; employers/3; and, professional/4) relative to the status progression. The percent of the student population for a category was multiplied by the weight for that category. The results from all four categories were then summed to give an SES index for the school where a higher "raw score" number means higher overall economic status for the student populations in those schools. These school ranks were then compared to grade attainment ranks for each school. The attainment ranks were derived from Tables 6-8.

The results of the comparison of school SES and grade attainment ranks are reported in Table 10 along with ranks based upon percent of ethnics. Thus reading from right to left along the top of Table 10, school 04 has the second highest SES, the third highest grade attainment, and the highest number of ethnics. Upon doing further analysis, a combined grade attainment percentage for the top and bottom two schools on our SES measure were compared and tested for statistical difference. This analysis is also reported in Table 10.

As the analyses indicate, and as one might expect, there is a positive relationship between grade attainment and SES, namely, higher SES students are more likely to reach 12th grade after having reached the 9th grade. However, when we compare the two schools in our sample having the higher percentages of ethnic students with the two having a low ethnic percentage, an even stronger relationship was obtained in favor of percent ethnic. That is the schools with higher numbers of ethnics had significantly higher grade attainment success, and the strength of the relationship was stronger than that established between SES and grade attainment. This contradicts the trend reported in the previous section on grade attainment i.e., that, overall, American students did somewhat better than ethnic students in terms of grade attainment. The smallness of our sample for the class analyses probably explains the discrepancy. An alternative explanation is that the discrepancy is based upon the concentration in the sample schools of particularly high achieving ethnic subgroups which, indeed, do better than the American student. Limitations of data prevent further investigation of this question. Nevertheless, these findings suggest that the relationships among class, ethnicity, and grade attainment are in need of further investigation, especially at the elementary level where greater sample sizes of schools with appropriate data may be available.

Ethnic Isolation. In order to make a more meaningful and a comparative analysis of the isolation of ethnics from the mainstream population in the early part of this century, we decided to compare their relative isolation to that of the isolation of blacks in a more recent period. An analysis of the isolation of black students in 1978 was made and compared to the experience of ethnic students of the earlier period. The results of the analysis are contained in Table 11. In this part of our study the most complete data were available for elementary schools. All elementary schools were used in the analysis. For the purpose of comparison, the current definition of a racially isolated school used by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) was used as the criterion to compare the two periods. The PHRC defines a racially isolated school as one that has a percent minority (white or black for a given school) that is more than thirty percent of that group's total population percent for that age group. For example, a system whose racial makeup in the elementary grades is 50/50 would have a 20-80% acceptable range (higher white or black) for individual schools. The "acceptable" ranges were computed for each period. Table 11 indicates that the percent of racially isolated schools in 1978 far exceeds the number that were ethnically isolated in 1927. Only twenty-four percent of the schools can be considered ethnically isolated in 1927. Fully sixty-one percent of the elementary schools in 1978 were racially isolated under the PHRC guidelines.

Representation in Educational Innovation. As stated earlier, the Pittsburgh District was under significant reform pressure during the period of our study. Administrative responses to these pressures included the implementation of educational innovations designed to diversify the curriculum and increase the efficiency of plant use. One important initiative that fits this pattern was the platoon school which began in 1916. To what extent was this reform directed at the children of immigrants compared to the children of American born parents?

The implementation of platoon schools in Pittsburgh was one of the earliest responses made by the newly centralized school administration to the pressures it faced resulting from dramatically increased enrollment. The District touted the innovation as one designed only to enrich the elementary curriculum. However, a careful look at platoon schools reveals that they were clearly beneficial—efficiencies to the District resulted from the centralization of certain classroom resources and from the total utilization of building capacity.

By 1927, the Pittsburgh School District had approximately 45 schools that were identified as platoon elementary schools. These schools had a total enrollment of 30,810 students with 45% ethnic, 48% American, and 7% "negro." Non-platoon schools for this same period had an enrollment of 28,237 students in 62 buildings with a 46% ethnic, 47% American and 7% negro (Table 12). Ethnic enrollment in platoon school, therefore, was near parity with American students.

Summary

The basic objective of this research has been to compare and to provide some analysis of the educational experiences of ethnic and American students from earlier in this century. We have found that ethnic students had a rather low attrition rate in high school and, therefore, the difference in attrition rates between ethnic and American students in 1927 was not significant. However, different ethnic groups varied widely in terms of grade attainment. The analysis of financial data for ethnic students indicates limited, tentative trends. For example, in school capacity overload ethnic students had achieved a rough parity with American students. Ethnic students experienced roughly equivalent class sizes in junior high school with decreasing class sizes in high school relative to American students. Ethnic students in high school also received somewhat greater support for manual training, although the difference in our sample comparison cannot be considered significant.

The relationship between ethnicity, class and grade attainment were examined. Not surprisingly, a positive correlation was obtained between economic status and grade attainment. However, what was not expected was a similarly positive and even stronger relationship between percent ethnic students and their grade attainment in our sample of schools. This contradicts our earlier finding that overall, ethnic students had a slightly higher attrition rate than American students. This discrepancy may be explained by the small sample which, in effect, may simply be yielding a trend that washes out when the statistics for all four schools are combined (i.e., as in Table 6). Whatever the explanation, it is clear to us that the relationships between class, ethnicity and schooling warrant further investigation. For example, by using secondary schools alone for our analysis, we are probably grossly underestimating the effects of class because of the prescreening that was likely to have occurred in elementary schools. It is probable that the range of social class variance would be severely restricted in secondary schools because ethnic students in high school (non-dropouts) would be well above the mean on an SES measure for ethnic students for the total school system (K-12).

Ethnic and black students were compared for their isolation within the system relative to their peer groups. Using contemporary standards of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, black students were found to be in significantly higher isolation from their white students than ethnic born students were from American students.

Finally, ethnic and American students were compared for their representation in a major administrative innovation, platoon schools. We found no significant difference.

Discussion

The most interesting findings of the study relate to grade attainment and ethnic isolation in the schools. The children of immigrants were shown to be comparable in terms of the attrition rate compared to the children of American parents. Furthermore, ethnic school children were reasonably well integrated with American school children in the early part of the century.

A word of caution needs to be made about the grade attainment relationships. What on the surface seems to be an advantage in relative attrition rates among the children of immigrants is probably the result of the fact that the high schools in the 1920's were servicing a small percentage of the total population for that age group.

Another note of caution needs to be made when we consider the grade attainment range found among various ethnic populations. As indicated previously, considerable differences were uncovered between them. This variance in attainment requires that we avoid any monolithic treatment of their historic experiences.

An important issue only treated in a preliminary way in this study concerns the relationship between class, ethnicity, and grade attainment. Grade attainment between ethnic groups probably can be best explained by differences in social class. The SES data available at this stage of the research (i.e., at the high school level) did not permit such precise analysis. Examining this relationship in Pittsburgh's elementary schools, where the number of schools (and thus potential variance) increases eight-fold, may provide a better means for getting at this problem. Increasing one's sample of high schools by going to other local district schools may also provide useful additional research information on this question.

Further research might also consider the relationships among class, ethnic differences and the other areas investigated by the study, especially school isolation and the distribution of resources. (On a much larger scale, further research also needs to be done on the relationship between class, ethnicity, race and gender). Such unanswered questions underscore the need to develop data bases as close to the individual student as is possible. It is only through such detailed examination that understanding can move beyond the level of generalization too abstract to be of real significance.

Bibliography

Abrams, I.A. A study of Jewish education in Pittsburgh. *American Jewish Outlook*, (May, 1940) 6–9.

Allegheny County, Pennsylvania. *A sesqui-centennial review*. Pittsburgh: The Allegheny Sesqui-Centennial Committee, 1938.

Ashbrook, W.D. *The development of industrial education in the schools of Pennsylvania*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1943.

Bachrach, M.H. *The immigrant on the hill*. Unpublished masters thesis, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, 1921.

Baldwin, L.D. *Pittsburgh: The story of a city*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1937.

Becker, H.M. *A statistical analysis of the census reports on the distribution of the foreign born white population of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, 1890-1930*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1932.

Board of Public Education. *Allegheny County's hundred years*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, no date.

Board of Public Education. *Directory*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1911-1948.

Board of Public Education. *Annual report of the Pittsburgh board of public education*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1912-1940.

Board of Public Education. *Minutes of meetings*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1912-1928.

Board of Public Education. *Pittsburgh individual principal reports to the survey commission*. Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1926-1927.

Board of Public Education. *A study of the educational department of the Pittsburgh Public Schools*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1928.

Bureau of Social Research. *Census tract tables of population and families*. Pittsburgh: Federation of Social Agencies, 1930.

Carson, E.R. *A study of the requisitions of the Pittsburgh public schools*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1930.

Citizens' Committee on Teachers' Salaries. *Final report*. Pittsburgh: Author, 1929.

Civic Club of Allegheny County. *Digest of reports on various phases and activities of Pittsburgh public schools*. Pittsburgh: Author, 1939.

Cohen, D.K. Immigrants and the schools. *Review of Educational Research*, 1970, 40, 13-28.

Cohen, S. *Progressives and urban school reform*. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1964.

Cole, R.E. The city's responsibility to the immigrant. *Immigrants in American Review*, 1915, *1*, 36–41.

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. *The school law*. Pennsylvania: Author, 1931.

Continuation School. *Report on a questionnaire submitted to the principals of the Pittsburgh public schools by a special survey commission* (submitted by Anthony M. Goldberger). Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Public Schools, 1927.

Counts, G.S. *The selective character of American secondary education*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Daniels, V. *Attitudes affecting the occupational affiliation of negroes*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1938.

Davidson, W.M. Education is king—how Pittsburgh's public school system advances it. *Greater Pittsburgh*, (June 11, 1926), 14–19.

Devine, R.A. *American immigration policy, 1924-1952*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957.

Elwood, M.I. *A statistical study of results of the Stanford revision of the Binet-Simon scale with a selected group of Pittsburgh school children*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1934.

Fike, I.L. *Historical development of vocational industrial education programs of secondary grade level in public schools of Pennsylvania from 1900 to 1954*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1957.

Free, H. *Home conditions and occupations of young people in the Hill District*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, 1920.

Goodard, M.I.A. *A study of the relationship of salaries to the number of dependents of teachers of the Pittsburgh public schools*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1928.

Greeley, A.M. *Ethnicity in the United States*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974.

Hartmann, E.G. *The movement to Americanize the immigrant*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948.

Holben, R.P. Poverty with relation to education. Philadelphia: R. P. Holben, 1923.

Hurlbutt, M.E. *New Americans in allegheny county: A cultural study*. New York: The New York School of Social Work, 1937.

Karier, C.J. *Shaping the American educational state*. New York: Free Press, 1975.

Katz, M.B. *The irony of early school reform*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968.

Keller, P.E. *Demographic areas in an urban community*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1930.

Kellogg, P.U. (Ed.). *The Pittsburgh goals* (6 vols.). New York: The Russell Sage Foundation, 1914.

Killikelly, S.H. *The history of Pittsburgh, its rise and progress*. Pittsburgh: B. C. Gordon Montgomery Co., 1960.

Klein, P. *A social study of Pittsburgh: Community problems and social services of allegheny county*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

Kristufek, R. *The immigrant and the Pittsburgh public schools: 1910-1940*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1975.

Lorant, S. *Pittsburgh: The story of an American city*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Co., 1964.

McCoy, W.D. *History of Pittsburgh public schools, 1682-1942*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1944.

McCoy, W.D. Public education in Pittsburgh, 1835-1950. *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 1951, *XXXIV*.

McLaughlin, J.M. *The development of the public evening school in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1936.

Miller, A.J. *The college success of high school graduates of exceptional ability*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1936.

Mulhern, J. *History of secondary education in Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: J. Mulhern, 1933.

Nahirny, V.C., & Fishman, J. A. American immigrant groups: Ethnic identification and the problem of generations. *Sociological Review*, 1965, *XIII*, 311–326.

National Education Association of the United States Public Committee. *Greater Pittsburgh educationally: Glimpses of school opportunities and training in service for all the people*. Pittsburgh: National Education Association, 1918.

Novak, M. *The rise of the unmeltable ethnics*. New York: MacMillan, 1972.

Olneck, M., & Lazerson, M. The school achievement of immigrant children: 1900-1930. *History of Education Quarterly*, Winter 1974, *XIV*(4), 453–482.

Pine, K. *The Jews in the Hill District of Pittsburgh, 1910-1940: A study of trends*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1943.

Pitler, A.Z. *The Hill District of Pittsburgh*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1930.

Porter, E.L. *The possibilities of educational and recreational work among immigrant women on the Hill*. Unpublished masters thesis, Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, 1920.

Rainey, H.P. *Public school finance*. New York: The Century Company, 1929.

Ravitch, D. *The great school wars: New York City, 1805-1977*. New York: Basic Books, 1974.

Reid, I.D.A. *Social conditions of the negro in the Hill district of Pittsburgh*. Pittsburgh: General Committee on the Hill survey, 1930.

Reports concerning the public schools of Pittsburgh, 1909-1910. (Vols. 41 and 42). Pittsburgh: Press of Sham Bros., 1910.

Risheberger, P.A. *A study of invoices in the Pittsburgh public schools*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1930.

Roytick, J.J. *The evolution of the industrial arts in the Pittsburgh public schools from 1917 to 1962*. Unpublished masters thesis, California State College, Pennsylvania, 1965.

School Study Group, Civic Club of Allegheny County. *Digest of reports on various phases and activities of the Pittsburgh public schools*. Pittsburgh: Civic Club of Allegheny County, 1933.

Smith, T.L. Immigrants social aspirations and American education, 1880-1930. *American Quarterly*, Fall 1969, *21*, 523–543.

Sterling, C.L. *History of industrial education in the Pittsburgh public school system*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1933.

Strayer, G. (Director) Division of field studies, institute of educational research. *The report of a survey of the public schools of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University, 1940.

Thernstrom, S. Immigrants and WASP's: Ethnic differences in occupational mobility in Boston 1890-1948. In S. Thernstrom and R. Sennett, (Eds.), *Nineteenth-Century Citys: Essays in the New Urban History*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969.

Thomas, A.M., Jr. American education and the immigrant. *Teachers College Record*, February 1954, *55*, 253–267.

Thompson, F. *The schooling of the immigrant*. New York: Harper and Row, 1920.

Timlin, I.A. *A survey of the high school buildings with its educational implications for Pittsburgh*. Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1930.

U.S. Bureau of Education. *Education of the immigrant*. Bulletin No. 51. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Historical statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957*. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1960.

U.S. Immigration Commission. *Abstracts of reports of the immigration commission with conclusions and recommendations and views of the minority.* (2 Vols.) Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911.

U.S. Immigration Commission. *Report of the children of immigrants in schools, Senate Documents Vol. 13, document no. 749, Vol. 1, in 5 vols.*, Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1911.

Voter's League. *Bulletin of the voter's league concerning the public school system of Pittsburgh.* Pittsburgh: The Voter's League, 1910.

Walter, J.R. *History and development of pre-vocational classes in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.* Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1935.

Wilkinson, E.R. *Development of public secondary education in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.* Unpublished masters thesis, University of Pittsburgh, 1934.

Wilson, R.E., & Zabrosky, F. A. *Resources on the ethnic and the immigrant in the Pittsburgh area* (prepared under a grant from the Hillman Foundation to the Ethnic Studies Committee). Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh Council on Higher Education, 1979.

Notes

[1] David K. Cohen, "Immigrants and the Schools," *Review of Educational Research*, 40 (February 1970), 13.28.

[2] Michael Olneck & Marvin Lazerson, "The School Achievement of Immigrant Children: 1900-1930," *History of Education Quarterly*, 14(4) (Winter 1974), 453–482.

[3] Board of Education, *Annual Report*, Pittsburgh, 1912.

[4] The Voter's League, *Bulletin*, Pittsburgh, 1910.

[5] Ibid., 10

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900, 639–640.

[7] This percentage falls to 39.3% in 1920 and 32% in 1932. U.S. Bureau of Census, 1900-1932.

[8] Board of Education, *Annual Report*, Pittsburgh, 1913, 42.

[9] Dr. Heeter was the first superintendent after centralization. However, Dr. Heeter was dismissed from office in 1913. Dr. Davidson takes the superintendency in 1914 and would hold the office until his death in 1930.

[10] Cited in Board of Public Education, *A Report on the Departments of Education*, 1928, 10.

[11] Board of Education, *Annual Reports*, Pittsburgh, 1912-1927.

[12] Board of Education. *Minutes*. Pittsburgh. 1912-Present

[13] Board of Education. *A Survey of the Departments of Education*. Pittsburgh 1928.

[14] Ibid. 17.

[15] Ibid. 7.

[16] Pittsburgh Board of Education. *Departmental Reports in Response to the Survey*. 1926-1927 (unpublished) and Pittsburgh Board of Education. *Individual Principal Reports*. 1926-1927 (unpublished).

[17] Board of Education. *Survey of the Education Departments*. Pittsburgh. 114.

[18] H. M. Becker. *A Statistical Analysis of the Census Reports on the Distribution of the Foreign Born White Population of Pittsburgh. Pennsylvania.* (Masters Thesis) University of Pittsburgh. Pittsburgh. PA. 1932. 17.

[19] Board of Education. *Departmental Reports in Response to the Survey Commission*. Pittsburgh. 1926-1927.

[20] Board of Education. *Individual Principal Reports to the Survey Commission*. Pittsburgh 1926-1927.

Table 1*

*Taken from The Sixteenth Annual Report, The Board of Public Education Pittsburgh, PA, 1927, p. 221.

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, DAY SCHOOLS:—1913-1927.

Year	Total Day Schools	SCHOOLS							
		Elementary	Junior High*	High*	Teacher Training†	Normal And Experimental†	Industrial	Continuation	Special
1927	87,065	64,017	7,589	11,536	230	......	1,464	1,466	433
1926	82,902	62,353	6,388	10,675	235	......	1,143	1,610	368
1925	83,013	63,230	5,822	10,736	234	......	834	1,816	321
1924	81,675	63,298	4,542	10,586	181	......	909	2,173	276
1923	79,835	63,439	2,465	11,149	199	......	396	2,080	203
1922	79,564	63,851	2,096	11,191	232	......	327	1,733	114
1921	76,622	62,444	1,870	9,782	202	......	279	1,944	101
1920	71,672	53,582	......	10,199	......	649	176	1,966	100
1919	70,851	58,707	......	9,421	......	569	113	1,290	31
1918	67,556	56,486	......	8,341	......	533	74	2,071	51
1917	69,235	59,010	......	7,947	......	384	141	1,507	46
1916	68,746	59,356	......	7,425	......	546	268	1,108	45
1915	67,835	59,832	......	6,911	......	221	272	242	47
1914	61,782	55,553	......	5,519	......	416	233	......	43
1913	57,853	52,896	......	4,578	......	332	159	......	38

* Prior to 1921 the statistics of the junior and regular high schools are combined.

† Prior to 1921 the Colfax elementary school was considered an experimental or model school and the statistics of the normal and elementary schools were combined. Beginning with 1921 the elementary school statistics are combined with those of the other elementary schools and the normal school is shown separately under the Teacher Training school. Prior to 1921 the average daily attendance at the Teacher Training school was as follows:—1920, 140; 1919, 101; 1918, 127; 1917, 172; 1916, 196; 1915, 198; 1914, 161; 1913, 122.

Table 2*

*Taken from The Sixteenth Annual Report, The Board of Public Education Pittsburgh, PA, 1927, p.222

AVERAGE DAILY ATTENDANCE, SUMMER, EVENING, DAY AND ALL SCHOOLS 1913-1927.

Year	SCHOOLS				Total Summer and Evening Schools	Total Day Schools	Total All Schools
	Summer Elementary	Summer High	Evening* Elementary	Evening* High			
1927	......	1,781	2,986	8,794	13,561	87,063	100,624
1926	....	1,346	3,604	5,168	13,118	82,992	96,110
1925	....	1,394	3,791	7,433	12,618	83,013	95,631
1924	......	1,574	4,857	7,013	13,444	81,675	95,119
1923	......	966	5,590	6,082	12,638	79,933	92,571
1922	......	1,175	5,200	4,956	11,331	79,564	90,895
1921	......	1,025	6,414	4,949	12,388	76,622	89,010
1920	......	720	5,879	4,467	11,066	71,672	82,738
1919	....	650	6,343	4,240	11,233	70,851	82,084
1918	......	437	5,190	3,731	9,358	67,556	76,914
1917	....	513	16,548	5,000	22,061	69,235	91,296
1916	599	641	12,666	4,295	18,201	68,748	86,949
1915	558	767	16,893	2,950	21,168	67,825	88,993
1914	603	592	14,258	2,217	17,670	61,782	79,452
1913	503	518	9,435	1,283	11,739	57,853	69,592

* In 1917 and prior years the attendance in self supporting groups was considered a part of the regular evening school attendance but this attendance is excluded after 1917. Attendance at special lectures and entertainments is not included in any year.

Table 3[*]

133	Elementary Schools
4	Junior High Schools
7	Junior-Senior High Schools
4	Senior High Schools
1	Short Course Business High School
5	Industrial Schools
1	Continuation School
1	Teacher Training School
6	Special Schools
Total 162	

---

[*] Board of Education, Survey of the Education Departments, 1928, p. 214.

Table 4

Characteristics of Elementary School Communities: 1927*

	Racial Group	Number of Pupils	Percent
1.	American	28,135	47.67
2.	Italian	5,670	9.63
3.	Negro	5,586	9.48
4.	Russian	3,082	5.24
5.	Jewish	2,797	4.75
6.	Polish	2,263	4.02
7.	German	2,037	3.46
8.	English	907	1.56
9.	Austrian	842	1.44
10.	Hungarian	799	1.37
11.	Lithuanian	751	1.29
12.	Slavic	615	1.06
13.	Irish	583	.99
14.	C. Slavic	527	.91
15.	Croatian	484	.84
16.	Ukranian	457	.79
17.	Scotch	379	.65
18.	Serbian	363	.63
19.	Roumanian	246	.42
20.	Greek	265	..
21.	Bohemian	104	..
22.	Bulgarian	14	..
23.	Danish	30	..
24.	French	98	..
25.	Swedish	164	..
26.	Welsh	111	1.13
27.	Swiss	20	..
28.	Spanish	22	..
29.	Canadian	44	..
30.	Syrian	32	..
31.	Chinese	10	..
32.	Belgian	7	..
33.	Unclassified	1,504	2.54
	Total	59,047	100.00

---

*Board of Education, Survey of the Education Departments, 1928, p. 214.

Table 5: High School Ethnicity: 1927*

School Code	School Total	# American
2	856	656
3	715	510
4	341	285
5	1284	983
6	2287	1569
7	998	811
8	2735	1701
9	1259	382
TOTALS:	10475	6897

% American	# Foreign Born	% Foreign Born
74.64%	200	23.36%
71.3%	205	28.7%
83.5%	56	16.5%
77%	301	23%
68%	718	32%
81.3%	187	19%
62%	1034	38%
30%	877	70%
66%	3578	34%

---

*Derived from "Principal's Reports to the Survey Commission" 1926-1927.

Table 6: Grade Attainment Statistics: 1927*

Four School Analysis

School Code	# in 9th Grade	# in 12th Grade	% Difference***
04	FB - 16	15	- 6%
	Am. - 114	34	-70%
07	FB - 50	19	-62%
	Am. - 184	86	-53%
09	FB - 144	46	-68%
	Am. - 89	43	-52%
08	FB - 329	190	-42%
	Am. - 527	356	-32%
TOTALS	FB - 539	270	-49.9%
	Am. - 914	519	-43.0%

Single School Analysis

School Code	# in 10th Grade	# in 12th Grade	% Difference
01[**]	FB - 71	46	-35%
	Am. - 262	201	-23%

---

[*] Constructed from "Principal's Reports to the Survey Commission," 1926-1927.

[**] Status not available for 9th grade.

[***] For example, school 04 percent difference = # in 9th grade - # in 12th grade ÷ by # in 9th grade x 100.

Table 7: Grade Attainment 1927*

Group	# in 9th Grade	# in 12th Grade	%. Difference
Foreign Born	539	270	- 49.9%
American	914	519	- 43.0%

---

*Based upon four high schools with grade level statistics.

Table 8: Ethnic Sub-Group Differences in Grade Attainment: 1927*

School	Ethnic Group	# 9th Grade	# 12th Grade	% Differences
07	American	184	86	-53%
	Austrian	1	1	0%
	German	21	10	-52%
	Irish	2	1	-50%
	Italian	3	0	-100%
	Polish	0	0	---
08	American	527	356	-32%
	Austrian	6	4	-33%
	German	26	20	-23%
	Irish	18	5	-72%
	Italian	33	9	-72%
	Polish	44	10	-77%

09	American	89	43	-52%
	Austrian	10	10	0%
	German	10	5	-50%
	Irish	1	3	+200%
	Italian	3	2	-33%
	Polish	49	9	-82%
TOTALS:	American	800	485	-39%
	Austrian	17	15	-12%
	German	57	35	-39%
	Irish	21	9	-57%
	Italian	39	11	-72%
	Polish	93	19	-80%

---

[a] Compiled from "Principal's Reports to the Survey Commission," 1926-1927.

Table 10: SES and Grade Attainment Ranks: 1927*

School Codes	SES Rank	Grade Attainment Rank	%Foreign Born
04	2	3	4
07	3	2	2
08	1	1	3
09	4	4	1

SES	Grade Attainment (% reaching 12th grade)	
High SES Schools	60%	z= 2.10,**
Low SES Schools	53%	p .05
High Foreign Born (48%)	58%	z= 5.34
Low Foreign Born (18%)	42%	p .001

---

* Derived from Principal Reports to the Survey Commission, 1927.

** We are indebted to our psychomerician colleague Dr. Lloyd Bond for his technical assistance in these analyses.

Table 11:Ethnic and Racial Isolation in Elementary Schools

	#Schools	% Foreign Born and Black	% American	# Ethnically Isolated*	%Isolated
1927	107	52%	48%	26	24%
	#Schools	% Black	% White	#Racially Isolated*	% Isolated
1978	72	49.79%	50.21%	44	61%

---

*Using current criteria of Pennsylvania State Human Relations Commission, i.e., a school is considered integrated when minority population in a school is within 30% of the % minority for that grade span. In the case of 1927 the acceptable range for % foreign and black combined would be from 22% to 82% and in 1978 for Black, approximately 20%-80%.

Table 12: Ethnic and Racial Representation in Educational Innovation

1927*

Type	# Schools	Total Enrollment	# Foreign Born	%Foreign Born	# American	% American	# Black	% Black
Platoon	45	30,810	13,716	45%	14,854	48%	2,240	7%
Non-Platoon	62	28,237	12,955	46%	13,181	47%	2,101	7%

**Platoon Schools

---

* Data incomplete--some schools missing.

** 1927 - 48% American, 45% Foreign Born in Elementary Schools.

Radical Politics: The Social Studies and the Reconstruction of America, 1932-1941

Michael James
California State University, Los Angeles

There is a curious passage in Lawrence Cremin's *Transformation of the School*. Cremin suggests that the social reconstructionist writings of George Counts, Harold Rugg, and William Kilpatrick et. al., were simply Teacher College intellectuals engaged in wishful thinking, whereby Depression America would be born anew because teachers would heed the call and somehow advance radical social change by teaching the evils of individualism while singing the praises of collective planning and action. Cremin points out, as others have, that the effort to rejuvenate America by radicalizing teachers through journals such as *The Social Frontier* was never a viable plan. The classrooms of America, no matter how often reconstructionist leadership called for the rebuilding of America, remained impervious to swift change. Cremin's position, however, regarding the role of the Social Studies during the 30s creates some confusion. Cremin wrote that social reconstructionism "proved curiously ineffective in changing practice . . . *except in the realm of the social studies*."[1] He states on one hand that the *Social Frontier* brand of reconstructionism failed to effect classroom practice and on the other he claims reconstructionist thought changed procedures in the Social Studies. There seems to be an anomaly here, at least in terms if not in fact. Beginning with the socially progressive theories of Dewey and the progressive schooling efforts during the 20s, the Social Studies have evolved as the single most influential carrier of planned cultural change. If the Social Studies as a subject during the 30s were thought to be the medium by which a society could turn itself around then Cremin's statement, and those of C.A. Bowers and others, seem to be contradictory.[2] If social reconstructionism made it to the classrooms of America through the Social Studies, then social reconstructionism as a philosophy of change was practiced in Depression America. This is not to suggest that the reconstructionists succeeded; we know that they most certainly did not create their radical vision of America. There were forces at work during those troubled times that weighed heavily on any radical movement in America. But to believe there was little if any reconstructionism being made over into curriculum is as facetious a notion as believing they succeeded. This essay is an initial effort at documenting local, regional, and state-wide curricular efforts that might be classified as "social reconstructionist" in purpose. However, only by defining what was meant by "social reconstructionism" can we realize whether or not it was taught in the schools. The data, although sparse and often difficult to interpret, seems to suggest that on a limited basis some states, regions, and municipalities were attempting to put into practice a unique form of what might be called "home-grown American socialism."

As an intense, national movement social reconstructionism began when George Counts read his keynote address at the 1932 Progressive Education Association conference. Progressive educators from all over the country had gathered in Baltimore that cold February to continue their efforts with what Harold Rugg had earlier and affectionately labeled "The Child Centered School" movement.[3] Progressive schooling had evolved a philosophy that stood in direct contrast to the sterile and doctrinaire practices of the traditional common school. Instead of students being inundated by a sea of lecture and recitation as they were in the traditional school, children in progressive schools were engaged in "real-life situations," or, as Rugg somewhat critically stated in 1931, children in the new schools were involved in activities that,

> . . . tended to reduce the curriculum almost altogether to activities of child life directly experienced through first-hand observation. "Described situations" have been ignored, even definitely ruled out of the program. Thus sense training dominates imagination.[4]

Opening the convention, Counts stunned his audience; they fully expected to be praised for their work at bringing together the child and the experience curriculum. But Counts had another agenda. He openly and forcefully criticized the PEA for creating and nurturing an attitude that was wholly undemocratic in scope and intent. Progressive schools, said Counts, were engaging children in activities for activity's sake, fostering a climate that promoted a sense of individualism that prevented group action at a time when the nation — **the group** in Counts' mind — was suffering its worst crisis since the Civil War.[5] In an address entitled "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" Counts recognized the child-centered educators for their accomplishments, most notably the movement's insistence that effective education was experiencial and character building. As Cremin wrote, though, "This was all to the good, but it was not enough."[6] The movement, saidCounts, was too narrow in its conception of the meaning of education; progressive education as well as American education in general was directionless, a situation that ignored the definition of progress as movement forward. Counts saw the progressive movement, "Like a baby shakinga rattle . . . utterly content with action, provided it is sufficiently vigorous and noisy."[7] The PEA had no theory of social welfare, it had no direction except that of laissez-faire individualism and the promotion of middle-class values. Counts was eloquent but his remarks were biting; he hit hard and often at a set of values that promoted a shallow respect for all things liberal, but, when confronted with the reality of Depression America, the middle-class were a group that has,

> . . . no deep and abiding loyalties, possess no convictions for which they would sacrifice over-much, would find it hard to ive without their customary material comforts, are rather insensitive to the accepted forms of social injustice . . . and in the day of severe trial will follow the lead of the most powerful and respectable forces in society and at the same time find good reason for doing so.[8]

To Counts, the "progressive" middle-class were nothing more than romantic sentimentalists, incapable of dealing with any of the great issues facing America. He thought it highly improbable that they could be trusted to write our educational theories or shape our educational programs. In short, Counts challenged the PEA to emancipate themselves and return to what was truly progressive. Schooling must become a re-creative enterprise, and in Counts' mind, progressive educators must end their aversion to "the bogies of **imposition** and **indoctrination**."[9] (Counts' emphasis) He was suggesting more than a mere re-thinking of priorities; Counts stood firmly in favor of "indoctrinating for democracy."

According to Frederick Redefer, then executive secretary of the PEA, Counts' speech created a furor on the convention floor. Progressive educators talked long into the night and the next day's business was set aside as small groups met to discuss this call to arms. There seemed to be some sense of unification and, as a result, PEA adopted a resolution that urged progressive schools to begin a "systematic study of the economic and industrial problems confronting the world today."[10] But PEA leadership was split. Counts had advocated a form of education that was antithetical to progressive minds: indoctrination. Although he defended the use of indoctrination during his PEA speech and subsequent talks at NEA and the Department of Superintendence in Washington, D.C., in general the American education community refused to accept the notion that a democratic state could be created through such an undemocratic method. Never mind that the business community had been for generations selling the idea that what was good for business was good for America. Many educators, progressive or otherwise, steadfastly refused to indoctrinate, which, as a method, must be considered one of the major tenets of the social reconstructionists. Around the country, however, there were attempts to put into practice what Counts and the other "Frontier Thinkers" called a new vision of the American destiny. Counts' PEA talk, together with speeches later that winter and spring on "Education and Indoctrination," and "Freedom, Culture, Social Planning and Leadership," created such a demand that the John Day Company published the three as a pamphlet entitled *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?*[11]

What was this "new vision of the American destiny" that was so radical it called for indoctrination? Counts, William Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, Dewey, Boyd Bode, and scores of other prominent educators and intellectuals tried for years to put into words an exact plan of action. Long before Counts' PEA talk a small group of Teachers College professors, beginning with William Kilpatrick and Harold Rugg and ultimately ending with very nearly every Columbia professor known to hold a reconstructionist viewpoint, held bimonthly meetings under Kilpatrick's chairmanship. Out of this group came *The Educational Frontier* in 1933. A compilation of essays that called for vast social transformation. Kilpatrick, Dewey, Rugg, John Childs and other notable reconstructionists wrote that for education to be effective then it must prepare individuals "to take part intelligently" in the management of their lives, "to bring them an understanding of the forces which are moving," and to provide them with the practical tools which "they can themselves enter into the direction of these forces."[12] If this is indoctrination, wrote Kilpatrick, then so be it. Through these essays one can discern a prophetic vision of the nation's schools becoming something they had never been before: centers of swift and fundamental social transformation. These "Frontier Thinkers" would accomplish their goals by a threefold assault. First, an intensive adult re-education was needed. There had to be support for the restructuring of the schools and to isolate the community from the child and the school was untenable. Second was the complete restructuring of the curriculum. At the heart of school studies would be the social sciences and the sciences, especially history and economics. America's teachers must be kept constantly informed as to the nature of the social issues. Finally, the school administrator, that bulwark of conservatism would give up many of his powers and share the running of the school, the building of the new curriculum, and the re-educating of the community with the teacher and the student.[13] This was, indeed, a radical vision.

The authors of *The Educational Frontier* have been severely criticized for being excessively optimistic, naive, sentimental, but, most of all for being too vague. Critics contend that during those disruptive times teachers needed a solid, well conceived, but above all **practical** plan of action. Instead of long-winded pronouncements of why America should be re-educated, show the teacher how the re-education should be done. Above all equip the teacher, the now chosen vangard of revolutionary change, with the necessary tools to create this anti-capitalistic, collective, well-planned community of socially conscious individuals. As C.A. Bowers complained,

> Although each author [in the *Educational Frontier*], in his respective chapter, emphasized the "method of intelligence" — which for the progressive educator is the scientific method — and questioned the use of indoctrination, none were able to state clearly how the teacher could provide leadership in remaking society according to his idealized conception of man and, at the same time, avoid indoctrination.[14]

Kilpatrick and the others did not end their writing with *The Educational Frontier*. Realizing full well the progressive teacher needed more than the method-riddled PEA journal — with its articles on sand-box play and "Education in the Soil" — the group put together a spirited, radically oriented educational magazine called *The Social Frontier*.[15] Intended to provide the radical educator with a forum to discuss and debate the emerging issues of school and social change, the editors and directors of *The Social Frontier* from the journal's first issue in October of 1934 helped articulate what the social reconstruction vision should be. Monthly issues debated the relative worth of indoctrination and the role of the progressive administrator. Yet the journal, according to its many critics, never accomplished much. The educational and social philosophies debated and elaborated in *The Social Frontier* seldom came into practice, or so the conventional wisdom tells us. If we take the Bowers-Cremin criticisms at face value then the social reconstructionist movement was purely an intellectual endeavor, the rarified property of the Kilpatrick inner-group, never to become the nuts-and-bolts philosophy of some local school district. It seems from the criticisms that the rebuilding of America was talked about but never put into practice. That thesis is simply not accurate.

There were a number of local, private schools that made an attempt at putting into practice what Counts and others called for. The most notable example might be Lincoln School at Columbia. But this school and other traditionally progressive schools might be expected to find social reconstruction a less complicated task to initiate than a large, urban or even a small, rural school. Conservative forces surround schooling: real curricular and administrative change is rarely put into play without a real fight. Dewey saw this before the turn of the century and warned curriculum innovators that, given the conservatism of the school, by the time reform had filtered down from writer to classroom there might be little to distinguish change from traditional practice.[16] But the Depression changed how we saw schooling. No longer could traditional, time-worn policies be used to solve problems that were very nearly overwhelming. By the winter of '32 America was in the grip of the worst economic and social crisis we had ever experienced. Millions were out of work and there was apparently little President Hoover would, or could, do about it. Well tested social and economic policies were of little use. Paydays came and went without paychecks being issued. People lost their homes, farms were taken and abandoned, and banks closed their doors. If the *New York Times* is any barometer, during 1932 and 1933 Americans began to debate the restructuring of education. There were dozens of articles in the *Times* that reported on this educator or that writer calling for some kind of social transformation through "planned action."[17]

In school circles real change begins with curriculum development. When local or state level educators begin to think about restructuring, it is usually done through the rewriting of curriculum. The more comprehensive the curriculum restructuring, the more encompassing is the intended or hoped for change. During the 30s well over half the states completely rewrote their frameworks. The nature of the restructuring, when compared to what had gone on prior to the Depression, was often nothing more than schooling catching up on advances in the culture, an issue Rugg had written about during the 20s. Curriculum development seemed to come into its own during the 30s and, consequently, there was experimentation. What kinds of experimentation and whether the curriculum was in effect versions of radical social reconstructionism has seldom been addressed. We seem to have taken to heart the notion that the Teachers College intellectuals had little if any effect on the schools. However, at least one state, Virginia, began in 1932 a serious, long range effort at curricular reform.

The Virginia Curriculum Revision Program began when Sidney Hall was appointed State Superintendent in 1931. Hall was not what one would call a typical superintendent; throughout his career Hall seemed to have traveled his own path. He had done what one would expect of any educator aspiring to higher office: Hall served as a classroom teacher, high school principal, and state level administrator. But he also acquired along the way a world view of schooling that made him a rarity amongst his superintendency colleagues. Hall had been the recipient of a traveling fellowship that made it possible for him to study various school systems in Europe. In addition, he served as professor of secondary education at George Peabody Teachers College in Tennessee.[18] This was no ordinary administrator; Hall came to Virginia as the Depression was settling in with a sense of wanting to initiate into practice what was being talked about in higher education circles. To that end, Hall brought with him a cadre of innovative schoolmen: Hollis Caswell from Peabody, a curriculum specialist who eventually would become president of Teachers College; Caswell's colleague Doak Campbell, who together with Caswell, would write the most successful curriculum revision texts of the 30s; Paul Hanna of Teachers College, who in 1935 would leave Columbia for Stanford University; and J. Paul Leonard, associate professor at William and Mary College, who, in 1960 would become president of San Francisco State College where under his leadership Hilda Taba and others would create some of that decade's finest curriculum projects.[19] This was no ordinary group led by no ordinary man. Hall's energy and intelligence must have appeared boundless for he began almost immediately after his appointment a thorough re-organization of Virginia's educational structure. At the time Virginia's educational system was, like many other Southern states, highly centralized. Hall's re-organizational effort was intended to put into place an elaborate infrastructure that would facilitate change. No doubt Hall and his colleagues realized the serious obstacles confronting them. It has been written that Virginia educated in a backward time because its schools suffered from a widespread inertia borne of uncritical acceptance of what might best be termed "conventional educational practices."[20] Conservatism was entrenched and Hall would labor for over a decade in attempting to create a standard of educational practice that was socially progressive.

In August of 1931, with the administrative re-structuring nearly complete, Hall met with Caswell and Campbell to plan a course of action. The three were in agreement that any lasting curriculum revision must begin with the classroom teacher. Accordingly, committees, conferences, and meetings were organized around the state. By the fall of '31 a series of bulletins had been planned that would aid teachers and their communities in the revision process. There seemed to be a sense of universal acceptance if not commitment to the idea that Virginia's schooling would change. In January 1932 the first of many State *Bulletins* was published. Entitled, *Study Course for Virginia Curriculum Program*, this little fifteen page publication officially began the revision program.[21] During the next two years over ten thousand teachers met in voluntary study groups to discuss how Virginia's new curriculum should reflect the changing times. From these initial gatherings the curriculum revision process was teacher directed and cooperative in purpose. Repeatedly the State Department made every effort to prevent anything which might be construed as coercive. Teachers organized and administered the study groups and the curriculum that emerged was wholly teacher made.[22]

In searching for evidence that might suggest the Virginia Revision Program had socially radical notions, one is inclined to focus on two curricular concerns: first, the philosophy underlying the overall aims and second, the suggested student learning experiences that translate or carry these aims. The internal composition of curriculum, i.e., objectives and content as well as the evaluation procedures are often generic to curriculum projects, and in addition can mask the true meaning of any developmental process.

Virginia's aims were radical in scope: they were purposely built around the problems suggested by the "Frontier Thinkers." In addition, the aims committee attempted to meet the challenges issued by George Counts in his *The American Road to Democracy* by putting into place a set of ideas that fostered group work over individual success.[23] The chair of the aims committee was the principal of Newport News High School, Frederick Alexander, who later would assume the Supervisorship of Negro Education in Virginia and who later still would complete his doctorate at Teachers' College.[24] Like Hall and the others, Alexander was committed to a brand of social change that had definite reconstructionist trappings. Alexander and the aims committee defined curriculum as "All the experiences which children have at school under the guidance of their teachers." The committee further defined curriculum as a product that teachers and students "together actually make . . . and that all teachers in Virginia are engaged in curriculum construction whether or not they recognize it as such."[25] From Alexander's committee came a total of sixty-two aims, each an extension of six major philosophic principles that have a remarkable likeness to major reconstructionist tenets, especially to those of Dewey. The six principles were:

1. The school is an agency of society for its perpetuation and re-creation.
2. Growth processes in individuals and in society are resultants of continuing interaction between individuals and society.
3. Individuals differ in interests, abilities, attitudes, appreciations, and understandings, habits and skills and in capacity to learn.
4. Growth is continuous.
5. All learning comes through experience.
6. An individual tends to avoid experiences which annoy and to seek experiences which satisfy.[26]

Although the aims committee made no overt statement regarding indoctrination they came very close to addressing the concerns Kilpatrick stated in *The Educational Frontier*:

> Democratic ideals can be realized only as democracy is seen to be a way of living. Consequently, the school must guide pupils in the development of types of behavior compatible with democratic ideals.[27]

The "types of behavior" Alexander's committee was concerned with were emotional attitudes that could best serve a society confronted with rapid change. The aims and principles the Alexander committee formulated show a distinct resemblance to the "Frontier Thinkers" and their goals, especially those in Kilpatrick's *Educational Frontier*.

Each of the six principles guided the formulation of the program's sixty-two aims. Each aim was further defined when it was sub-divided into what the committee called "understandings." In turn each of these "understandings" was given a list of "special abilities involving to a large extent specific habits and motor skills. . ."[28] A sampling of these "understandings" and "special abilities" offers some evidence the Revision Program was charged with a highly uncharacteristic approach to schooling in America:

From Aim 106: "The Attitude of Critical Mindedness"

> The tendency to seek explanations, causes, and consequences of social and natural causes. . . .
>
> The inclination to distinguish between belief and proof. . . .
>
> The tendency to question authority constructively.

From Aim 117: "The Attitude of Respect for Constituted Authority"

> Willingness to surrender personal independence in the proportion that social justice is extended to all persons. . . .
>
> Active and intelligent obedience to all laws while reserving the right to advocate modification of any that prove unjust. . . .
>
> The tendency to obey parents.[29]

The final generalization is interesting. Note how the committee suggested certain behaviors. Regarding the sanctity of parental authority, Alexander and his colleagues recommend only a mild "tendency."

The intentions of any curriculum are borne by the student's learning experiences. No matter how writers cloak objectives, content and evaluative procedures, the purpose of the course of study is made clear by the kinds of student learning experiences. From an article Frederick Alexander wrote in 1934 on Virginia's High School Social Studies Curriculum it becomes abundantly clear something new was in the works.[30] Alexander explained how students and teachers were involved in developing what he called "leads," or linkages between the effusive aims and the practical, day-to-day work in the classroom. From "leads" such as

"How does changing culture and changing social institutions make necessary a changing concept of freedom?" came student made units of study such as "How does the control of the school, the press, and the church by the ruling class deprive men of intellectual and moral freedom?" Alexander listed numerous units such as the above. Many were imbued with a sense of radical, anti-capitalistic, anti-ruling class, pro-collectivist convictions.

By the early 40s the Virginia Curriculum Revision Program had lost much of its energy. In 1938 Superintendent Hall had wondered aloud over the commitment of Virginians to this kind of change.[31] He was not alone. Hollis Caswell was concerned that too much had been asked, too soon.[32] The sense of urgency was fading. American business was quickly regaining its lost ground: the National Association of Manufacturers began a well funded, vigorous public education campaign to counteract the "propaganda" of the anti-capitalists and by 1939 the country was being propagandized with the notion that "free enterprise is the American way of life."[33] To the social reconstructionists the ambitious, well oiled NAM effort must have been felt with equal parts of dread and envy. America was being successfully re-sold on the idea that what was good for business was good for the country. With the coming of World War II America's efforts at educating its children turned away from cultural rebuilding to self-protection. The Virginia Revision Program became known as the "Social Functions Curriculum," a legacy it carries to this day.[34]

Notes

[1] Cremin, Lawrence, *The Transformation of the School*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961, p. 233.

[2] Cf. Bowers, C.A., *The Progressive Educator and the Depression*, New York: Random House, 1969. Tyack, David, et. al., *Public Schools in Hard Times*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 18-27, 59-76. Also see Arthur Zilmersmits' excellent essay on "The Failure of Progressive Education, 1920-1940," in Lawrence Stone's *Schooling and Society*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1976, p. 252-263.

[3] Rugg, Harold, *The Child Centered School*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1928.

[4] Rugg, Harold, *Culture and Education in America*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1931, p. 298.

[5] Counts, George, S., "Dare Progressive Education Be Progressive?" *Progressive Education*, 9: (April 1932), p. 257-263.

[6] Cremin, *Transformation of the School*, p. 59.

[7] Counts, "Dare Progressive Education. . . ," p. 259.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 260.

[10] Cf. Bowers' *The Progressive Educator*, for comments on the effect Counts' speech had on the convention, p. 16-18.

[11] Counts, George, *Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?* New York: John Day Publishing Co., 1932.

[12] Kilpatrick, William, H., ed., *The Educational Frontier*, New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1933, p. 71.

[13] Cremin, p. 229-230.

[14] Bowers, p. 42.

[15] The journal's Board of Directors read like a Progressive Education Who's Who; however, the journal was actually the brain child of two Teachers' College graduate students, Mordecai Grossman and Norman Woelfel.

[16] Cf. John Dewey's "The Educational Situation," in *John Dewey: The Middle Works*, Boydston, JoAnn, editor, Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975, p. 260-261.

[17] According to the *New York Times Index*, in 1931 there were no articles detailing how education should or should not aid in society's reconstruction. By 1933 the number had jumped to 38. One such article in 1933 reported a speech given by Teachers' College professor Herbert Bruner. In his speech Bruner cites "unprecedented activities in curriculum making" but fails to elaborate what or where. Bruner calls for revisionist writers, both in public and private schools, to "change the present regime." Cf. *New York Times*, Sunday, April 2, 1933, VII 4:5.

[18] Buck, Blair, *The Development of Public Schools in Virginia, 1607-1952*, Richmond: 1952, p. 289-342. The book was originally Buck's dissertation from the University of Michigan. I have relied heavily on Buck's work. In addition to the above, see the *National Education Association Journal*, Vol 35, October, 1946, p. 421 for Hall's obituary. Hall was active in NEA politics. He left Virginia in 1941 to assume the duties as Director of Continuing Education at George Washington University, Washington, D.C.

[19] Buck, *The Development of Public Schools*, p. 305. See also Hollis Caswell and Doak Campbell's *Curriculum Development*, New York: American Book Company, 1935 for many citations regarding the Virginia plan. It is interesting to note that Kilpatrick's *Educational Frontier*, was published *after* the revision program began. Paul Hanna was guest editor of the *Clearing House*, in 1934 (when the journal carried the subtitle "a journal for progressive junior and senior high school people). His editorial, "Social Studies Contributes to the American Reconstruction," can be found in volume 9:1, p. 3. (The following issue of *Clearing House* contained an article on the Social Studies and Virginia's Revision program written by the chair of the Aims Committee.) Hanna is probably best known for his brain-child: the "Expanding Environment" curriculum, an elementary school Social Studies program that has been the

universal teaching tool since its conception. J. Paul Leonard wrote on Virginia's program in the *Harvard Educational Review*, volume 7:1, (January 1937), p. 66-71. His article, "Is Virginia's Curriculum Working?" was a statistical study indicating that overwhelming numbers of elementary classrooms were engaged in the "New Education." The high school numbers were less than satisfactory. He attributed the success in the elementary school setting to "leadership." Whatever he meant by that statement was not made clear. Leonard left William and Mary for Florida State College where he joined the newly appointed president, Doak Campbell in 1941.

[20] Buck, p. 291.

[21] "Study Courses for Virginia Curriculum Program," *Virginia State Board of Education*, Richmond, Virginia, January, 1932 (cited in Buck, p. 298). This citation and all subsequent citations of the Virginia State Board of Education documents were cited in either Buck's *The Development of Public Schools*, or in Caswell and Campbell's 1935 text, *Curriculum Development*. The dearth of primary materials pertaining to curriculum development during the 30s is startling and unforgivable. School materials are not considered worthy of storage once their usefulness with children has run out and, as a result, educational history suffers the consequences. (Buck, p. 298)

[22] Buck, p. 300. Leonard, p. 66.

[23] Buck, p. 307. Counts, George, S., *The Road to American Culture*, New York: John Day Company, 1930.

[24] Alexander, Frederick, "Social Studies in Virginia," *The Clearing House*, 9:2 (October 1934), p. 76-81. Alexander was appointed Supervisor of Negro Education in 1938. He completed his Ph.D in 1944 at Teachers' College. His dissertation was on "Education for the Needs of the Negro." In addition, see his article in the *Southern Workman*, on "Education and Virginia's Culture," volume 68: (March 1939), p. 80-88.

[25] "Organization for Virginia State Curriculum Program," *Virginia State Board of Education*, Richmond, Virginia, March 1932. (Buck, p. 301)

[26] "Procedures for Virginia State Curriculum Program," *Virginia State Board of Education*, Richmond, Virginia, November 1932, p. 11-13. (Cited in Caswell, p. 95)

[27] "Tentative Course of Study for Virginia's Elementary Schools, Grades I-VII," *Virginia State Board of Education*, Richmond, Virginia, 1934 p. 1 (cited in Caswell and Campbell's *Readings in Curriculum Development*, p. 199-201, the supplementary 1937 volume to their *Curriculum Development*.

[28] Caswell, p. 135.

[29] Op. cit., p. 3-5. (Caswell, p. 136-137).

[30] Alexander, Frederick, "Social Studies in Virginia," p. 80-81. Alexander concluded his article by writing that the Virginia curriculum plan did not advocate strict subject matter, but, instead, used subjects to broaden the pupil's "experience through engaging in socially useful activities that will

enable him to realize attitudes and understanding that we can use in managing and re-creating [a] new kind of society."

[31] Hall, Sidney, *The Nation's Schools*, 22: (August 1938), p. 23-25. Hindsight served Blair Buck. He wrote in 1952 regarding the Aims Committee's reconstructive notions: "It is probably true, however, that the expectation on the part of the committee that teachers would be consciously and continuously referring to these aims to give direction to their work has hardly been realized. . . . it is possible that the aims chosen in Virginia went too far toward extreme specificity, and that the happy medium lies somewhere between." p. 310

[32] Caswell and Campbell, *Readings in Curriculum Development*, p. 637-638.

[33] Rippa, Alexander, S., *Education in a Free Society*, New York: David Mckay Company, 1967, p. 266-276.

[34] Taba, Hilda, *Curriculum Development*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1962, p. 398.

The Anti-Profession Profession: Adult Education in the 1920s

Amy D. Rose
Northern Illinois University

Introduction

The Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning are usually considered to be among the foremost proponents of the "cult of the expert" during the progressive era. Through studies of the professions and judicious grants, these two foundations encouraged the development of professions and closely considered the role of the expert within the larger society.[1] Often overlooked in discussions of the impact of these foundations has been the Carnegie Corporation interest in and support of adult education. Through the twenties and thirties, adult education was envisioned as a way of overcoming the problem of the ceding of public decision-making to the hands of a few experts. An analysis of the Carnegie vision of adult education is important because it sheds light on a different side of foundation concern with the expert.

In 1926 the American Association for Adult Education (AAAE) was founded by a group of adult educators brought together under the auspices of the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Today the AAAE is seen as the first professional organization of adult educators in the United States. Launched with great fanfare, the AAAE rapidly lost its constituency in the 1930s, ultimately fading away in the 1940s as Carnegie funding was withdrawn. The story of the founding and demise of the AAAE is usually presented in terms of a morality play. According to this version, the AAAE was founded in response to the vision of then President Frederick P. Keppel, of the Carnegie Corporation, of bringing order to a disorganized and disparate field. In its role as catalyst, the Carnegie Corporation brought together diverse segments of the adult education world and encouraged them to work together in developing an organization to serve the field of adult education.[2]

The AAAE ultimately failed because it maintained an elite stance and its leaders failed to develop a pragmatic orientation or to consult with the practitioners in the field. Since the AAAE could not function as a professional association, failed to bring order to the field, and ignored the practitioners it could not maintain Carnegie support and thus faded away.[3]

Instead of viewing the 1920s as the beginning of the professional adult education movement in the U.S., we need to see the AAAE as a professional association which developed from an anti-professional concern. As an organization it rapidly became caught between the growing demands of practitioners such as basic education teachers who were calling for a professional organization to represent their interests and give them status and the founders of the association who saw adult education as a way of overcoming the increasing specialization of modern society.

This paper will begin this reassessment through an examination of the interests of the Carnegie Corporation as it embarked on its ambitious adult education program.

The Development of the AAAE

By 1926, when the AAAE was founded, much discussion about the meaning of adult education had already taken place. In 1924 the Carnegie Corporation, led by Frederick P. Keppel called a preliminary conference to discuss the feasibility of making a comprehensive study of the area of adult education.[4] Out of the conference, an advisory committee was appointed to examine the issue more closely. The committee drew up a tentative program which recommended that the Corporation should sponsor:

1. A general study to call attention to the most significant enterprises in adult education
2. Intensive studies of some few parts of the whole problem
3. Scientific studies on such topics as the psychology of the learning process

It was also proposed that an independent organization be formed for the purpose of making recommendations to the Corporation about possible grants.[5]

After this report a series of regional conferences were held in order to consider the nature of this national organization. The delegates to these conferences were selected by the Carnegie Corporation and they attended as individuals not as representatives of their organizations. The proposal for a national organization was supported at each conference and a founding convention was called where the AAAE was inaugurated.[6]

The initial task of this new group was to embark on a five-year program of experimentation designed to indicate whether or not the idea of adult education was worth ". . . the expenditure of time, energy, and money." The aims of the new organization were purposefully vague. It was decided that no formal definition of adult education would be developed beyond the exclusion of profit-making enterprises; that independence from the National Education Association (NEA) would be maintained; that the Association would propagandize "to a limited extent" for adult education; and that the AAAE would not "superimpose the forms which adult education might take in various sections of the country."[7]

What has remained unclear is what was the Carnegie Corporation's interest in adult education? How was it defined? What were the roots of this interest? and How did this interest fit in with other Corporation projects?

The Carnegie interest in adult education stemmed from several closely related issues. On the one hand, the Corporation was in the process of a complete reorganization and an assessment of priorities. The initial study of adult education was something that could be accomplished with a limited budget. In addition, the Carnegie interest was closely allied to the development of an area in which the Corporation felt it could have a substantial impact. Finally, the Corporation's principal concern was not with the organization of a field of adult education, but rather with the amelioration of the problems relating to the standardization of the public school and university systems through the organization and diffusion of knowledge. These were closely tied to foundation concerns with the development of experts and their contribution to both local and national policy decisions.

The Carnegie Corporation: and Adult Education

The Carnegie Corporation was the last of Andrew Carnegie's principal endowments, having been established in 1911. In endowing the Corporation Andrew Carnegie stated his hope that it would carry on the projects he had begun but he left it much latitude in choosing a course of action.[8] The purpose of the Corporation was to maintain the funds given by Carnegie and to apply the income to "promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States, by aiding technical schools, institutions of higher learning, libraries, scientific research, hero funds, useful publications, and by such other Agencies and means as shall from time to time be found appropriate therefor."[9]

From the time of its creation in 1911 until Andrew Carnegie's illness in 1915, the Corporation served primarily as a conduit for its benefactor's donations. After 1915, Andrew Carnegie withdrew from active participation in the Corporation and Elihu Root, as acting head, continued operations and grants procedures as they had been organized under Carnegie. Beginning in 1917, the Board of Trustees began a reassessment of Carnegie grants and areas of involvement. At this time the Board was struggling to find a way of operating while meeting the exigencies first, of the war, and then the post-war situations.[10]

The two principal war-related endeavors were grants to the National Research Council (NRC) "as a measure of national preparedness" and a study of Americanization methods.[11] Carnegie interest in the NRC stemmed from the foundation's commitment to research and diffusion. The NRC's mandate for scientific research and dissemination represented a potential model for future projects.

The study of methods of Americanization was approved in March

1918. It was an attempt to examine all of the influences working for or against the Americanization process. While previous studies of Americanization had focused on classes for immigrants, the Carnegie study saw the formal classroom as only one of many environmental and social factors contributing to this personal change. Ultimately the Corporation was interested in identifying those factors which led to change, as well as understanding the immigrant experience in general.[12] The study was a landmark in terms of analyzing the process of Americanization. It also crystallized Carnegie's interest in adult education taking place outside of traditional classrooms.

The death of Andrew Carnegie precipitated an internal reorganization and the hiring of a President for the first time in the Corporation's history. New financial arrangements had to be worked out in accordance with certain aspects of Carnegie's will. In May, 1921, as part of the settlement of Andrew Carnegie's will, the Corporation made the largest single grant in its history. This grant, amounting to over $16,000,000, was made to the Trustees of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh in order to endow the Carnegie Institute of Technology. The actual transmission of funds was to take place no later than June 30, 1924.[13] All Carnegie activity from 1920-1921 on must be viewed as a preparation for the anticipated cutbacks necessitated by the capitalization of this grant in 1924. The attempts to systematize procedures were due at least in part to this loss of capital funds and to the necessity of establishing priorities during the transition period.

The examination of policy continued under the aegis of the new Corporation president, James R. Angell, but his one-year tenure was too brief to implement any changes. Upon Angell's resignation, Henry Pritchett, President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching took on the duties of the Acting President. Pritchett had two concerns. In the first place he emphasized the establishment of priorities so that Corporation funds would go where they would have greatest impact. Additionally he advocated a restructuring of procedure and a more active role on the part of the Corporation in seeking out possible applicants. Pritchett felt that the Carnegie Corporation should move toward taking a prescriptive attitude with regard to modern social problems. At the same time he also advocated a retreat from the funding of institutions and a return to an emphasis on the individual.[14]

He evinced a nostalgia for the time of uninstitutionalized learning, citing with approval Adam Smith's statement that without public institutions for education nothing would be taught ". . . for which there was not some demand or which the circumstances of the time did not render it either necessary or convenient or at least fashionable."[15] If foundations were to perform any good at all, they would have to search for independent individuals ". . . of sound judgment, of wide experience, of imagination, of discrimination, who will give time and thought to the duties of a trusteeship of this nature." Foundations had to avoid the pitfalls of dissipating their resources on mediocre projects and exhausting the energies of these exceptional individuals.[16]

Pritchett made several specific proposals on funding policy as he pushed the Corporation to set priorities in terms of the advancement and diffusion of learning. Among these were the funding of college libraries; the continuation of aid for medical research; and support for the study of economics. Pritchett stated that the ". . . field of economics is unquestionably one in which there is greater need for the diffusion of knowledge among the people of the United States than in any other single field."[17] Pritchett continually reiterated his view that economics was essential because intelligent political action should be based on economic research. He feared that in economics more than other disciplines the diffusion of knowledge lagged behind its discovery: Not only the discovery of truth, but its clear statement was of paramount importance.[18]

Another recommendation concerned the arts and art education. Pritchett recommended that the Corporation inquire about the kinds of aid that could be given to agencies interested in the education and appreciation of art. He advocated the encouragement of community art experiments which would educate public taste ". . . and to train men and women who may interpret these arts to the body of the people."[19]

Finally, Pritchett was concerned with the development of a scientific approach to the diffusion and simplification of knowledge. Rather than focus solely on the advancement of knowledge, he felt that the critical task of the Corporation should be to identify individuals of promise who would engage in studies on the methods of education. "In the last analysis, the question before this foundation is less what is the knowledge that people need than what are the methods by which knowledge can be implanted in the minds of our people."[20]

This concern was coupled with displeasure with the modern system of education. Pritchett felt that both the public school and university systems had become over-extended and could not function properly. He deplored the direction that education had taken. "The school has been transformed from a personal direct agency for the few, into a great machine for the many." Too many children were being urged to continue in school when they were better suited for other vocations. This had resulted in the expansion of the schools as new courses of study and vocational training were added. The schools had taken on too many functions and had become too diffuse and superficial. They were no longer teaching children what they needed to know.[21]

The schools had become a "panacea for all social and political disorders."[22] Pritchett decried the new emphasis on social problems at the expense of the intellect. He felt that the addition of new studies and the dropping of the classical curriculum had led to the abandonment of the traditional emphasis on individual development and integrity.[23]

Pritchett also decried the abdication of family responsibility. The role of the school in the child's life had become too pervasive. The teachers had been asked ". . . to take over the entire moral, intellectual, and esthetic training of the child."[24] This overextension was especially apparent in the new high schools where the curriculum covered all fields of knowledge and activity while teaching a trade. In particular Pritchett maintained that the vocational training in the high schools increased the cost while maintaining such low quality that he termed it ". . . an educational farce."[25]

All of these factors combined to drive up the cost of education and give the school children "intellectual dyspepsia." Pritchett bemoaned the astonishing increase in the cost of public education that had occurred between 1910 and 1920, although he expressed no surprise that new approaches had led to unprecedented local spending. The new approaches had resulted in an educational system which was "fundamentally unsound and leads to expense beyond any man's ability to estimate." He felt that the only way to overcome the problem was to rethink the definition of education. The primary goal should be the teaching of the "fundamentals." Such knowledge gained would go beyond the acquisition of a collection of superficial facts to include intellectual discipline and the ability to "bend the mind to a given problem."[26]

For Pritchett the redefinition of education involved the reformulation of the elementary school as a place to acquire intellectual training, but not knowledge per se. Once the child had learned how to think or reason, he or she could then acquire knowledge as it was needed. Professional training had to be deemphasized so that a wider possibility of occupations would be available to children who would not then feel pressure to attend school. Pritchett was not advocating the exclusion of children from public education, but rather the limitation of public education itself. He felt that new definitions must be evolved if financial collapse was to be prevented.[27]

This disaffection with education was carried over to universities and colleges. These were seen as big businesses which had lost their original developmental thrust. Instead of attempting to discipline young minds, the colleges were involved in myriad activities. Too many people were going to college and the overall level had been brought down. The college president had become a business manager. Finally, the big business of the higher education system meant that foundations could have only a limited impact. Pritchett felt that other avenues would be more fruitful.[28] He advanced the idea of detaching knowledge from university attendance. The university would instead become one of several options for professional training, but the lack of a degree would not imply that an individual was inexorably blocked from the pursuit of learning.

As a first step in achieving his goals, Pritchett commissioned his assistant, William Learned, to prepare a study which was ultimately published under the title, *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge*.[29] The Learned study was the most explicit statement of Carnegie interests in adult education. Not only was it the first examination of adult education as a prospective area of study, but it also laid out the primary concerns and goals of the Corporation. In this study, adult education emerges as a way of organizing knowledge so that it would be available to the general public and to the community at large. Adult educators would have expertise in specific disciplines as well as knowledge of a wide range of techniques most effective with adults. They would act as facilitators, counselors and teachers. Adult education's purpose would be to complement or supplement standardized schooling. Resources would be available through centers designed for this purpose.[30]

Learned's study called for the development of community centers to organize and synthesize research. These would be connected so that small towns would have recourse to the resources of larger cities. They would utilize leaders trained to help the public pursue knowledge in a systematic and coherent fashion. The characteristics of these experts would be "personal tact, quick intellectual sympathies and appreciation, a thorough knowledge of a certain field of material, precision and discrimination of thought, and the power promptly to organize results." The experts would possess specialized knowledge as well as the ability to assess an "adult's mental equipment and point of view, and to sense intuitively the character of his personal need."[31]

The staff of these centers would take an active role in bringing information or knowledge to the public. They would seek out those who had not previously been encouraged to take part in adult education, groups such as convalescing patients and the unemployed. The staff would prepare syllabi for all areas of knowledge, but the material would be presented informally through conversations. The expert would act as a "friend" rather than a teacher.[32]

For the Carnegie Corporation and its leaders the problem of adult education was the diffusion of knowledge. The first issue to be tackled was therefore how the adult mind operates. It was felt that once the psychology of the adult was understood the information being disseminated could be better organized. It was understood that simply making information available to the public was not enough. Someone had to organize the information so that individuals would not be overwhelmed.

The Learned study had a tremendous impact on Pritchett and on his successor Frederick P. Keppel. When Keppel assumed the presidency of the Carnegie Corporation he had the task of working out a viable policy based on the groundwork laid by Pritchett. Faced with imminent cutbacks and the impossibility of embarking on new projects, Keppel devoted his first year to a study of the fields in which the Corporation should concentrate.[33]

Keppel, like his predecessor, was concerned with the particular role of the Corporation within American society. He foresaw that the time would come when the Corporation would have to defend itself against charges of acting as a "dominating or patronizing force" in carrying forward its programs. In order to foster a "nucleus" of public understanding of the Corporation's activities, he recommended public participation in grant decisions.[34]

Keppel advocated an expansion of the policy already implemented in conjunction with the American Library Association (ALA). Under this arrangement the Corporation consulted with the ALA before making library grants.[35]

Related to the issue of public participation was a keen concern for a distinction between the diffusion of knowledge and the direction of public opinion or propaganda. Keppel admitted that it was often difficult to draw a line between the two. While cautioning that the ". . . deliberate and conscious propagation of opinion . . . is not the wisest use to which trust funds can be put. . . .", Keppel believed that the corporation could play a vital role in the ". . . discovery and distribution of facts from which men and women may draw their own conclusions. . . ."[36]

According to Keppel, foundations had an obligation to foster public opinion. This meant a closer study of the relation between ". . . the diffusion of knowledge and the guidance of opinion. . . ."[37] It followed that an important project for the Corporation would be a study of the ways facts could be disseminated in order to encourage the development of an informed citizenry.

Keppel linked the question of diffusion to the use of leisure time. Citing the decrease in working hours and the simplification of household work, he postulated an increase in the number of leisure hours available to many individuals. He felt that there had been little research on this increase in leisure by those who were concerned with its appropriate use. Keppel was especially interested in the use of leisure as an antidote to routinized and boring work. People working in mechanized jobs were marked by a "starvation of the creative instinct."[38] Adult education would provide the opportunity to release this creativity.

Keppel was distressed that the issue of leisure had been left open to those whose only interest was making money. Even those involved in the commercial uses of recreation had failed to take note of the possibilities of more "serious use of leisure time." Only private correspondence schools had moved into this area.[39]

Finally, Keppel was concerned with the use of knowledge, not only by the individual but by the community as well. Thus, the needs of the community had to be assessed as well as the individual's ability to learn. He advocated the launching of community studies to evaluate the impact of specific programs especially in the Arts.[40]

If education was to solve the world's problems, new techniques needed to be developed. The projects funded during this period represented efforts to expand these twin functions of research and dissemination. One problem was that no one was quite sure how to organize the knowledge so that it would be understandable. Another was how to organize the public so that it would pursue this knowledge in an intelligent manner. Thus the satisfactory use of leisure came to be important. Since work was monotonous and lacked a creative outlet, the pursuit of knowledge would have to be undertaken during the increased leisure time available to the individual. The Carnegie studies in the library, the arts and adult education were part of a recognition of the fact that individuals were not utilizing their free time in such a manner as to ensure the proper ingestion of knowledge. The emphasis was on individual learning and on the individual within the community. The actual content was self-evident — Knowledge. No further definition was necessary.

There was great optimism about the potential for scientific research, especially if explained properly to the non-expert. The world's problems could only be attacked through the use of expertise in a democratic manner. Many of the agencies funded by the Carnegie Corporation had similar aims. Whether in law, science, economics, or the arts, they all essentially combined research with dissemination. Additionally, it was hoped that this dissemination would lead to sound government policy and ultimately feed back to more research.

It was into this concern for diffusion that the Corporation introduced adult education. The AAAE was not something extrinsic to the Carnegie Corporation but was an outgrowth of its primary concerns. Its purpose was to enable the Corporation to pull together its diverse interests and to organize and disseminate knowledge in an efficient manner. It was assumed that such a system, if developed properly would encourage democratic participation and appropriate decision-making. Intelligence would become widespread as the expertise of the professionals was made more generally available.

The principal emphasis was on interdisciplinary studies and the relationship of different research activities to each other. Grants to the National Research Council and the Institute of Economics were both examples of the funding of agencies designed to bring together a variety of experts who attempted to work together for common ends. Their research was to be accessible to both the scientific community and the educated, intelligent layperson. There was the beginning of a concern with the varieties of techniques which would most effectively enable these organizations to reach the public at large.

In addition, scientific writing for the public needed to be scrutinized in order to be made clear, concise and simple. In a similar vein the American Law Institute's goal was to simplify the law of the country in such a way that it would be intelligible to the greatest number.[41]

These functions were considered critical if knowledge was to be made accessible. There was a belief, as iterated time and again in the Carnegie Corporation documents, that the possession of information or knowledge in an understandable format, would bring about individual happiness and social reform.

Conclusion

Adult education was initially an attempt to organize knowledge for public consumption. It was a specific attempt to organize vast amounts of research and knowledge and make these available to the public through a variety of yet to be identified methods in order to make the public more intelligent and better educated. Adult education was a leisure-time activity. The Carnegie Corporation's aim was to develop educational methods that would be responsive to the needs of adults and to which adults in turn would respond.

Adult education would serve as an antidote to organized educational systems. Where elementary, secondary, and higher education had abandoned the ideal of intellectual discipline, adults were in the perfect position to carry on. A return to a renewed emphasis on the individuals in society would be inevitable. It would give the public access to scientific advances and allow it to have an impact on the development of intelligent public policy. While experts were needed to advance knowledge, only an educated public could maintain democratic society.

Carnegie interest in adult education was the result of a confluence of several interests and concerns. There was increasing unhappiness over the state of public education with its over-expansion and resulting superficiality. The schools and colleges had become businesses and had lost their devotion to the individual and to the intellect. Instead of focusing on learning, they focused on the transmission of discrete knowledge with the result of hopeless superficiality.

In addition, the Carnegie Corporation was involved in a reassessment of its role in society and evaluation of granting procedures. The call by the Carnegie Corporation to organize conferences on adult education and ultimately an organization should not be seen as an attempt to organize a professional organization. Rather it was to bring together people actively involved in diffusion and to consequently devise a way of implementing planned and organized diffusion efforts. Experiments would be undertaken in order to identify adult interests (as in the study of what adults read); organizing and simplifying knowledge (as in the funding of books for the Workers' Education Series and ultimately in the development of a

Readability Laboratory); and studies of rural and small town life in order to best ascertain the needs of these communities. This resulted in a new emphasis on the necessity of advancing and diffusing knowledge.

The AAAE was organized to assist the Corporation in its grants procedures, not as a professional organization. The perception today that the AAAE was founded as a professional association is indicative of its total failure. The experiment in the organization and diffusion of knowledge was the culmination of Carnegie interest in the expert. While promoting the advancement of knowledge, it was felt that the Corporation had ignored the far-more important aim of diffusion. The AAAE was anti-professional in the sense that it was designed to combat the problems of professionalism. While maintaining its interest in the expert, the Carnegie Corporation sought to harness expertise and make it widely available, comprehensible and ultimately usable. The degeneration of this effort indicates both the quixotic nature of the venture and the limits of foundation influence.

Notes

[1] Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *Private Power for the Public Good. A History of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1983).

[2] C. Hartley Grattan, *In Quest of Knowledge: A Historical Perspective on Adult Education*, (NY: Association Press, 1955); and Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the United States* (NY: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1977, revised edition).

[3] Grattan, *In Quest of Knowledge*: Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the U.S.*

[4] Carnegie Corporation Office Memorandum, Seires II, Adult Education No. 1, "Call for a Preliminary Conference, 6 June 1924," Carnegie Corporation Archives, NY. (Mimeographed)

[5] Carnegie Corporation Office Memoranda, Series II, Adult Education No. 10, "Tentative Program," 9 December 1924, p. 1. (Mimeographed)

[6] Carnegie Corporation Office Memoranda, Series II, Adult Education, No. 20, *Digest of Proceedings of National Conference on Adult Education and First Meeting of American Association for Adult Education, Chicago, Illinois*.

[7] Malcolm Knowles, *The Adult Education Movement in the U.S.*, p. 194-195.

[8] Andrew Carnegie to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, 10 November 1911, in *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation* (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1912).

[9] Constitution of the Carnegie Corporation, Article II, in *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation*, 10 November 1911 (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1912).

[10] *Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, 22 November 1917* (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1917).

[11] *Annual Report of the Acting President and Treasurer to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, 1921-1922* (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1922).

[12] "Study of Americanization: Outline For A Study of the Agencies and Process Which Affect the Welding of the Immigrant into our National Life." In Carnegie Corporation *Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees*, 12 March 1918 (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1918).

[13] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation for the Year Ending September 30, 1924*.

[14] Henry Pritchett, Confidential Memorandum to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, 5 October 1922 (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1922).

[15] Henry Pritchett, *Annual Report of the Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1921-22*.

[16] Henry Pritchett, *Annual Report of the Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1922-23* (NY: Carnegie Corporation, 1923), p. 16.

[17] Henry Pritchett, Confidential Memorandum of 11 May 1922 to the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Corporation, in *Agenda for the Meetings of the Board of Trustees and the Executive Committee of the Carnegie Corporation 24 May 1922*. (Mimeographed)

[18] Henry Pritchett, *Annual Report of the Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1921-22*, p. 32-33.

[19] Henry Pritchett, Confidential Memorandum of 11 May 1922.

[20] Henry Pritchett, Confidential Memorandum of 11 May 1922.

[21] Henry Pritchett, "The Teacher's Responsibility for our Educational Integrity" in *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1922-23*, p. 79.

[22] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Education" in *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1921-22*, p. 98.

[23] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Public Education," p. 116.

[24] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Public Education," p. 116.

[25] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Public Education," p. 102.

[26] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Public Education," pp. 106-107.

[27] Henry Pritchett, "The Rising Cost of Public Education," p. 107.

[28] Henry Pritchett. *Annual Report of the Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1921-22*.

[29] William S. Learned, *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge* (NY: Harcourt, Brace, 1924).

[30] William S. Learned, *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge*.

[31] William S. Learned, *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge*, pp. 13-14.

[32] William S. Learned, *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge*.

[33] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1923-24*.

[34] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1923-24*, p. 6.

[35] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1923-24*.

[36] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1923-24*, p. 7.

[37] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1923-24*, pp. 5-6.

[38] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1925-26*, p. 19.

[39] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1925-26*, pp. 19-20.

[40] Frederick P. Keppel, *Annual Report of the President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1925-26*.

[41] Henry Pritchett, *Annual Report of the Acting President of the Carnegie Corporation, 1921-22*.

The School in a Newspaper: Young People's Weekly
1886-1948

Lucy F. Townsend
Northern Illinois University

> The YOUNG PEOPLE'S WEEKLY directs its efforts toward crowding out the "goody-goody" literature, . . . often supplied to the young people of the church under the head of "religious literature," and supplanting it with wide-awake, earnest, helpful reading matter presented in so pleasing a dress that our boys and girls shall be obliged to acknowledge that a Sunday-school paper may be just as entertaining as any of their young folks' papers, even though it be void of "slang" and deep-laid plots, that appeal to the imagination rather than the heart.[1]

So ran an advertisement for an eight-page Sunday school newspaper, first published in 1886 by David C. Cook Publishing, of Chicago, Illinois. This Sunday tabloid, *Young People's Weekly*, was quickly snapped up by over 100,000 readers. Within a few years, its circulation had mushroomed to 232,857, a figure that placed it among the best-selling American periodicals.[2] *Young People's Weekly* had two goals: to reinforce the work of the Sunday school and to "help boys and girls live well." Its first editors, David C. Cook I and Belle Kellogg Towne, assured their readers that they were receiving four times the amount of reading of the ordinary Sunday school paper, and for only fifty cents a year, the same size paper as many secular young people's weeklies "costing from $1.75 to $2.00 a year."[3]

For the first three decades, readers of *Young People's Weekly* might be five or twenty-five years old. Gradually the readership narrowed so that by 1930 it consisted of young people between the ages of seventeen and thirty.[4] Because they were from many different Protestant denominations, Cook offered articles that would appeal to a wide range of interests. Set in tiny type on large sheets of newsprint, the paper contained not only religious articles but also long fiction pieces and feature articles. The letters to the editor and pictures of Sunday school classes indicate that readers were mainly from lower and middle-class families in small Midwestern towns.

Several popular periodicals for children (*St. Nicholas, Our Young Folks, Youth's Companion, Wide Awake, Riverside Magazine for Young People*) have been the subject of articles, books, and dissertations. Popular religious periodicals for young people have been largely ignored.[5] This paper will analyze *Young People's Weekly* from its founding in 1886 to 1948, when the name of the publication was changed to *Young People's Digest*. The analysis will not, however, attempt to determine the impact of the publication on young people. Rather, it will focus on the periodical as the means by which a group of evangelical Christians sought to educate the next generation.

Sunday School Goals

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, thousands of Sunday schools were established in cities and frontier communities. The founders of these schools were usually evangelical Protestants, who believed that all people needed an education in order to study the Scriptures. If the children who attended Sunday school were illiterate, Sunday school teachers added instruction in basic language skills to their religious curriculum. In 1824, lay and clerical leaders from many denominations combined their efforts by forming the American Sunday-School Union. In addition to publishing curricula and training lay teachers, the American Sunday-School Union paved the way for public libraries by publishing libraries of one hundred bound volumes for only ten dollars a set. These sets contained religious books but there were also juvenile selections of history, biography, travel, narratives, poetry, songs, conversations, and hymns. By 1875, 6,500,000 American children and 300,000 Canadian children were reported to be attending Sunday school.[6]

A member of this large-scale religious movement who used his spare time to establish Sunday schools in the ghettos of Chicago was a young sewing machine entrepreneur, David C. Cook. Born in 1850, David Cook was the son of the Rev. Ezra Cook, a Methodist minister who had left his profession because he had chronic hoarseness. Like thousands of other easterners, Ezra Cook set out with his family from their home in New York to a farm in the old Northwest territory. The family settled in Illinois, where they suffered from poor health and poverty. When Cook was a teenager, he determined to attend a newly established Methodist school called Wheaton College, even though his father was too poor to pay the tuition. But one day while Cook was helping his father gather corn fodder, a tiny sliver lodged in his eye. Soon his eye became so infected that he was forced to drop out of college. Not long afterwards, Ezra Cook moved his family to Chicago where they set up a printing business. While working with his father, Cook also sold sewing machines. Soon he had enough knowledge to set up his own sewing machine business. In the evenings and on weekends, David Cook established and taught in Sunday schools. Many of his scholars worked eleven-hour shifts with only one day off. Few attended school.[7]

Like other evangelical Sunday school founders, David Cook was hampered because he couldn't afford the Sunday school curriculum on the market, not even hymn books. His students had no explanatory notes for difficult Scripture passages nor suggestions for applying the lessons to their lives. Cook began to wonder if he might be able to publish curricula for Sunday school organizers like himself. After all, he had experience in printing, and he had learned to sell through direct mail. So in 1875, Cook wrote a pamphlet called "Our Sunday School Quarterly" containing

Biblical texts along with explanations and some hymns. He set most of the type for the publication and printed it on his own press. Using a list of names from the newly organized International Association of Sunday School Superintendents, he sold 40,000 copies of the first issue; the next issue, 70,000. He told his partner in the sewing machine business, "I tell you, *I've got something*."[8] Instead of building a fortune in sewing machines, he would use his business expertise to support the work of the Sunday school. Cook sold his interests in the sewing machine business and founded a publishing house.

It did not take long before David C. Cook Publishing Company was a leader among religious publishers. Cook enlisted the aid of his wife, hired editors, and bought printing presses. Soon he was publishing six tabloids every week. Once a month he also published four Sunday school papers. The most popular of these, *Young People's Weekly*, perhaps best reflected what David C. Cook and his editors wanted young people to learn. In 1897 an editorial encouraged the paper's large readership to send letters about their Christian insights to the paper. After all, said the editors, *Young People's Weekly* was a "combined, composite school, a school so large that the weight of a word reaches thousands upon thousands of impressionable young minds."[9] The main subject that this school taught was the same as that taught in academies and colleges throughout the frontier — evangelical Christian faith. *Young People's Weekly* also gave its scholars an opportunity to develop knowledge in reading, history, government, science, and writing. It stressed the importance of cultivating social etiquette. Yet unlike most American schools, *Young People's Weekly* instructed adolescents who had dropped out of school, an audience that at this time amounted to 90 percent of all young people aged fourteen to seventeen.[10] How to succeed in business was a central theme, only a little less important than one's responsibility to the family.

For the next six decades, *Young People's Weekly* would continue to educate young people. As its editors and the audience changed, so would its format and contents. Its fiction would reflect the growing affluence of its readers. As the number of readers remaining in school increased, its features devoted to science, history, civics and government would decline. For a time, its theology would be influenced by a more liberal theology that was taking over the mainline Protestant churches, but it would revert back to evangelical Protestantism of small-town and rural America. What predominated throughout the decades was an emphasis on evangelical Protestant Christian faith, general education, and success in the business world.

Evangelical Protestantism

The religious perspective subtly and often overtly colored *Young People's Weekly* so much that religion cannot be clearly separated from other topics such as morality, etiquette, science, entertainment, and business. Until the 1920s, the particular religious content was the orthodox Protestant faith made popular during the Great Awakening, the movement that had spawned thousands of American and foreign missionaries, benevolent societies, and colleges. Liberal Protestantism was steadily gaining ground in the mainline churches, but until World War I, there was no hint of liberalism in Cook's publication. Instead, there were articles about how one might accept Christ as Savior, study the Scriptures, and apply biblical principles in everyday life. In 1895, readers were encouraged to join a Christian club called "I. A. H. Circle" ("I am His [Christ's]) and to wear a ring as a reminder that they belonged to Christ. Members of this club received a series of membership letters from David Cook telling about his childhood and growth as a Christian. Members could also write to the paper and ask for advice about biblical and moral problems. Their questions and the editors' answers were printed in a column called "Question Drawer."[11]

Character development was a predominant theme. Sprinkled throughout each issue were short articles with titles such as "Seek the Best," "When Doing a Favor" and "In Service We Find the Joy of Living."[12] Denominational distinctions were ignored and representatives of Baptist Young People's Union, Young Men's Christian Association, Boys Brigade, Epworth League, In His Name, Christian Endeavor, and Luther League contributed weekly articles to the column "Young People's Societies." Discerning readers would notice, however, that the focus on the individual's responsibility to choose or reject Christ and the power of each person to live a moral life were Methodist teachings.

In 1923, when David C. Cook II became managing editor of the paper, its theological content began to reflect the liberalism that was creeping into mainline Protestant churches. Jesus was no longer presented as the Savior of the world but as the perfect human example. The hard-driving religious and moral emphasis that had dominated fiction and feature articles was relegated to a few columns. Throughout the 1920s adventure and love stories appeared.[13] By 1931, the theological transformation was complete. In the June 20, 1931 issue, the fiction stories, which dominated the publication, might have been published in a secular magazine. These stories depicted a young wife learning that her marriage isn't over because of one argument, a young man learning that he must not lose faith in himself if he is to succeed as a writer, a young cowboy proving his skill on the range, and a young man in a logging camp learning that cooperation wins more friends than competition. The religious feature on the second page, "Does Beauty Thrill You?" placed religion among other human endeavors, not above them. In "Question Drawer," one reader asked if having temptations means that he/she isn't converted. In the answer, Jesus was called "the purest of the race," rather than "the redeemer of the race."[14] Such a statement was certain to rile the evangelicals in the reading audience.

In 1932, David C. Cook II died, and his son became editor-in-chief of the publication. In reality David C. Cook III did not edit *Young People's*

Weekly, but he did contribute columns. David C. Cook III rejected Protestant liberalism, which he found to be personally meaningless. His grandfather's staunch evangelicalism held more appeal for him. He and two other company executives agreed to move the company back to a more conservative, evangelical direction.[15] That theological persuasion has dominated the company to the present day.

Throughout the rest of the 1930s and 40s, *Young People's Weekly* cut back on its love and adventure fiction and gradually included more evangelical Protestant articles. The December 29, 1946 issue is representative. On the cover is a drawing of Jesus Christ, with a Bible verse printed underneath. Inside is a short column explaining that Christ is "the only source of true spiritual strength and security." The issue includes paragraph sermons, a Bible quiz, an editorial by David C. Cook III about what church history teaches, a feature article about a young woman who hid Jews from the Nazis and later helped war-battered Germans, a page about various Christian efforts throughout the world, a continuing column retelling Biblical classics, and two religious columns by a noted Christian author. There are only two pieces of fiction and several feature articles that are non-religious.[16]

General Education

In 1900 only 6.4 percent of young people were graduated from high school. By 1940, that figure had risen to 50.8 percent.[17] In many ways, the publication reflected the interests and needs of this group. For the first four decades, each issue of *Young People's Weekly* contained eight pages, or around 25,000 words — enough reading matter to fill a Sunday afternoon and perhaps another evening. In 1931, the publication changed to a magazine format, but the editors assured their readers that the smaller-sized sixteen-page publication actually contained "one more column of reading matter than in the old form."[18] By 1948, however, the magazine had decreased in size to around 15,000 words an issue. This trend would continue. Since evangelicals generally prohibited their children from playing games or reading secular books on the Day of Rest, it is likely that most young people filled Sunday afternoons with reading *Young People's Weekly*.

What they read in the publication was not necessarily religious, however. A generous amount of space was devoted to science and technology, geography, history, politics, and famous people — exactly what the readers might study if they were in school. Readers were frequently encouraged to teach themselves in their spare time or to attend college. They were informed of available scholarships, continuing education and correspondence courses. Undoubtedly the publishers considered the newspaper to be a means by which young people in the working world could continue to educate themselves.

Scientific articles filled *Young People's Weekly* for most of its history. These articles ranged from tiny paragraphs tucked in the middle of pages of copy to prominent serials. Most articles were written in a leisurely, non-scientific style. The ornithologist Leander S. Keyser was a frequent contributor during the 1890s. In an article entitled "An Early Stroll," Keyser explained in a simple style how he sighted birds in his neighborhood. There were also articles on recent discoveries, including the first steamboat, the expansion of the telephone, and photography in colors. Perhaps two of the longest running scientific columns were "The Modern Curiosity Shop" and "Popular Science and Invention," both appearing in the 1920s and 30s.[19]

Articles about countries and customs around the world found a regular place in the publication along with articles about missionary work. Several articles were devoted to Oriental countries, including the China's New Year's celebrations, Chinese boat-life, and bicycle riding in Tokyo. In 1894 Ellen Ward contributed a series of articles on old and new Japan. There were also long biographical articles on famous people, including Benjamin Franklin, the Arctic explorer Dr. Fridtj Nansen, George Washington, Steven Foster, etc. Occasionally articles about citizenship were featured. For example, in "The Ideal Citizen," John Habberton informed his male readers that the ideal American citizen thinks for himself rather than being led; is a disturbing influence in his political party; and prepares to suffer for his convictions, if necessary. During World War I, a column called "Service To Our Country" informed readers of ways that they could support the war effort. These kinds of articles were included on a declining basis throughout the decades.[20]

Fiction held a dominant place in *Young People's Weekly* throughout its history. A lead story with large illustrations usually filled the first page of each issue, with one or more continuing stories on later pages. There might be several shorter stories sprinkled throughout the rest of the paper. Analyzing sample issues published over six decades with the Flesch Readability Index reveals that the publication was written on the seventh grade level.[21] Belle Kellogg Towne, who held various editorial positions on *Young People's Weekly* for over three decades, contributed many lead stories. Another editor of long standing, Hattie Lummis Smith, also contributed many stories. The publication also printed stories by writers with national reputations. For example, the editors informed their readers that a forthcoming serial would be written by Mrs. Mary F. Butts, "whose name is now a household word"; and Margaret Johann, "who has met with such unprecedented success as a serial writer for young people." Margaret E. Sangster, who contributed two weekly columns during the 1940s, was a nationally recognized religious writer. Occasionally famous books were serialized such as *The Scarlet Letter* by Nathaniel Hawthorne.[22]

The influential children's writer, Mary Dodge (*Hans Brinker and the Silver Skates*) and editor of what is generally considered the finest children's magazine of the nineteenth century, *St. Nicholas*, said that the ideal children's magazine would give the child a "pleasure ground. . . . where toads hop quickly out of sight and snakes dare not show themselves at all."[23] This was not the case with the nineteenth century *Young People's Weekly*. There were no folktales, fairy tales, or fantasy. Humor was never acknowledged. Toads and snakes might appear but only in scientific articles. Instead, the fictional world of the publication was full of poverty, illness, hard work, and service to others.

In the first few lines of the lead story in the oldest extant issue, "From Susie Wayne's Journal," a young girl named Susie wrote in her journal: "More than once, it seemed as if I must, in spite of the sight of dear mamma's pale, weary-looking face, throw all the unironed linen together into the laundry-basket, and run away from the hot, tiresome kitchen, far out into the cool wood, or anywhere only to be alone with my miserable heart." Susie was like many heroines in the early fiction of *Young People's Weekly*. Her father had failed in business, so the family did not have enough money to send Susie back to school. The rest of the story reveals how Susie coped with being left out of her friends' lives. At the climax of the story, she decided to be cheerful and patient, not for herself only, "but for dear papa and mamma," whose trials were so much greater than hers.[24] This type of plot was repeated so often that it might be classified as a formula story; that is, the same type of character found him or herself in a set of circumstances which required that an important choice be made. What followed were the inevitable consequences of that choice. In the early decades, the "true grit" formula usually involved a young woman who was forced to sacrifice her dream of an education. Because she had no money to educate herself, she had to adjust to her restricted opportunities. Eventually she would sympathize with her parents or siblings and pitch in to help them. Characters in "true grit" stories coped with severe illness, an alcoholic parent, poverty, or death. Usually part of the story showed how they worked through feelings of self-pity and eventually decided to ignore the deprivation and to get busy and help others. As the decades passed, the characters were more affluent. Still, they struggled with putting duty before enjoyment or family responsibility before popularity.[25]

A second formula might be called the story of "moral choice." In this case, a young person faced an important moral decision which would affect his or her character as well as others. Sometimes the young person did wrong, but usually the wrong-doer made amends and learned in the process. In "Which Was the Thief?" several children were left at home while their parents were away on a trip. When Florence could not find an umbrella, she decided that the neighborhood boy who helped around the house was the thief. Although Florence never accused the boy openly, she was so cool towards him that finally he left to work for another family. When the umbrella was finally found, Florence realized that she was the thief, for she had stolen the boy's reputation.[26] Such didactic stories continued throughout the decades. In the 1946 story "Across the Street," a young woman and her boyfriend became rivals in business.

After trying to steal each other's customers, they eventually realized that competing with each other was silly.[27]

When young people in "moral choice" stories made good moral choices, inevitably they received a tangible reward. In the 1890 story, "Daisy's Knight," for example, a young girl befriended a boy whom everyone else ridiculed. Because of the girl's kindness, the boy saved her from a mad dog. In the 1939 story "Thin Air," a young man who gave up his resentment at being forced to radio broadcast from a remote island found himself in the ideal place to announce a terrible fire.[28] Today's editors at David C. Cook Publishing Company would reject stories with such simplistic plots.

During the late nineteenth century, there was much competition for juvenile readers. Especially popular were the sensational dime novels depicting adventures in the wild west and other exotic locations. Editors of the better children's publications faulted these publications because they glorified violence, revenge, and sudden wealth. To attract readers, however, they began to use some elements of these stories in their own publications. The formula that began to appear in *Young People's Weekly* might be called the "rescue" story. "Through Fire and Flame" filled the entire first page of the January, 1896 issue, a prominence not usually granted a story. This adventure story told how a young man on the work gang of the railroad had to make an important choice: Would he risk his life to help save a town threatened by fire? Jan Petersen decided to help, and a small band of railroad workers only just rescued the women and children from certain death. Such stories continued throughout the decades. Often the Christian's inner strength was revealed during a terrible flood, fire, or storm in which he or she rescued children or old people.[29]

Since most readers of magazines were women, girls were featured in many stories. Instead of overcoming obstacles with their physical or intellectual power, however, these central characters sometimes conquered indirectly. At this time, woman's power was thought to lie in the influence she wielded over those who had control of money and political clout, that is, her father and brothers. The "important influence" stories assured women, small children, and sometimes even young men that their winsomeness gave them power over the adults around them, in some cases without their even being aware of it. In "A Little Child Set in the Midst," a dying mother and her child arrived at the home of three elderly sisters and their brother. Although the elderly people were stale and inhospitable at the beginning of the story, the child transformed them into a warm, caring family. There were also stories of children whose unhappiness or death caused their fathers to turn from alcoholism and loving sisters who helped turn their brothers back to wholesome living. In "Ward's Talent," an adolescent boy felt that he had no power or talents, but he discovered that he could influence a wealthy man to build a gymnasium and library for the community.[30]

Whatever the formula, each story was selected because it taught that a

Christian's faith was relevant to everyday situations. As one advertisement for the publication put it: "Helpful application of Christianity to the urgent problems of the hour [is] our specialty."[31] Readers were reminded that no matter how poor their parents were or how seemingly trivial their occupations, still they could make their lives meaningful by helping others. No character was depicted as hopelessly evil. Alcoholics were presented as good men caught in the clutches of a degrading habit. Selfish children were merely thoughtless. All had the power to choose to be moral or immoral. All could improve their lives, if only they would try.

Poetry was included in each issue, and some of it was by famous poets, including Oliver Wendell Holmes ("The Hero of the Plow") and Whittier ("A Prayer").[32] Many poems were reprinted from other publications and were set in even smaller type than the stories and articles. Such poetry was usually filler. During the 1930s, poems were printed infrequently, but in the 1940s, a weekly column by the well-known religious writer, Margaret Sangster, included a poem she had composed on a reader-requested topic.

Like some secular children's magazines, *Young People's Weekly* encouraged its readers to become writers. In 1894 a 1,000-dollar prize was offered for the best 40,000 to 60,000-word manuscript on the life of Christ. The following year, 2,000 dollars in prizes was offered for "serial stories, stories of adventure, stories of honest Christian living, short stories of home life, and stories of church work." There were four winners, each of whom received 250 dollars and had their stories printed and illustrated the following year. Such contests appeared throughout the decades. In 1948, the publication announced a continuing writing contest. Each quarter 115 dollars would be awarded in prizes to the best entries in fiction, articles, and poetry.[33]

Many nineteenth century school teachers considered social etiquette a legitimate part of the curriculum. For example, in 1888 Julia M. Dewey published a book, *How To Teach Manners in the School-Room*, in which she explained how teachers might include such instruction during the opening exercises. She said, "Impress pupils with the idea that good manners is one of the subjects pursued in the schools," after which she provided teachers with lesson plans.[34] Social etiquette was part of the informal curriculum of *Young People's Weekly*. These articles were not lengthy, and some were reprinted from other publications. Readers were cautioned not to be boring, to be courteous in public places, to make friends slowly, and to treat elderly people with proper respect. Young women were told to wear simple clothing when they went away to college and not to make acquaintances on trains or in hotels.[35] How to win friends and behave in social situations found a place in the publication thoughout its history.

Success in Business

Perhaps the most frequent topic of instruction, aside from religion, was business, which filled the pages of the publication from its first issue. One reason for the frequency of this subject was probably due to audience interest. Business success was also a driving force for David C. Cook I. An entrepreneur of the first order, Cook poured countless hours into making a success of his publishing company. He amassed a fortune and became an international speaker at Sunday school conventions. When a mental breakdown forced him to take a leave of absence from his company, he bought a ranch in Piru Canon, California, and turned it into another profitable business. Oil was discovered on the property, and Cook eventually sold the ranch (today an historic landmark) at a considerable profit.[36]

Cook's own rise from poverty to wealth was probably behind the numerous articles which taught young people that everyone could succeed in business, including women. In every issue were articles full of advice. Readers were instructed to be punctual and to work carefully, no matter how trivial their jobs might seem. "The Successful Man of Today" instructed young men to anticipate the "coming needs" of society and act "with force and promptness" to provide for them. "Map Out Your Course, Young Man" told readers to plan a strategy before pursuing their "fortune." Young men were told to learn a trade to fall back on in case they failed in one line of business. They were also told that they could succeed because of their failures if they learned from them how to avoid failures in the future. In "Spend Your Evenings Aright," young men were told that if they wanted success in making "influential, earnest men of themselves, or in reaching material prosperity," they needed to study in the evenings.[37]

Young women were addressed in separate columns, but they, too, were encouraged to succeed in business, especially when David C. Cook I was editor. In "Worth a Dozen Men," young women were told that they could try many lines of work, including that of carpentry and locksmithing. Although there were articles acknowledging the fact that in business women might lose womanly delicacy and gentleness, they would gain womanly self-reliance, courage, and practical knowledge. Women were told how other young women had become successful stenographers, farmers, physical education instructors, typists, realtors, sales clerks, proprietors of blacksmith and horseshoeing shops, and captains of steam-yachts. They were addressed by employers who informed them of the value of punctuality and careful work. In a reprinted article entitled "Ambitious Girls," women were instructed to read the best books, retain their ideas, and act on them. The article concluded with the following advice:

> Don't listen to the words, "only a woman!" That is enough, you are capable; you can get where you want to if you only think you can; get hold of one end of the skein and keep on pulling until you have unravelled it.[38]

Articles relegating women to more restricted roles became more prevalent after the 1920s.

In the 1890s, *Young People's Weekly* gave young people an opportunity to earn money selling subscriptions to the publication. An application informed readers that they could become salespeople if they were Christians, could "figure correctly," and received the following endorsement from a church leader: "The above applicant is known to me as a faithful attendant at our Sunday-school, and is recommended as being of good character, and in every way worthy of confidence."[39]

The preeminently popular children's publication *Youth's Companion* was well known for using a similar approach to skyrocket its circulation. Each year the magazine published a full issue of expensive premiums children might earn if they sold enough issues of the publication. The premiums *Young People's Weekly* offered included only bicycles and cash (A young person who sold a subscription for 60 cents a year could keep 10 cents of that amount). To further increase incentive, the publication published circulation figures every month during 1895-96. In January 1895, the circulation was reported to be 105,000. In December 1896, it was 212,000. Circulation figures would never climb much higher. By 1902, the circulation peaked at 232,857; by 1930, it had fallen to 148,198; by 1948, it was down to 130,300. Today the magazine is still in existence under the name *Sunday Digest*. Its circulation is 83,000.[40]

Conclusion

The advertising authority *Printers' Ink* reported that late nineteenth century advertisers considered religious publications "more thoroughly read," and each copy had a "larger number of readers than most secular papers."[41] It is difficult to know whether these statements were true of *Young People's Weekly* and perhaps impossible to know the effect that the paper had on its readers. We can know, however, that the editors considered their publication a school whose purpose was to instruct young people in many of the same subjects that were taught in academies and colleges: evangelical Christian faith, morality, literature, writing, history, science, government and writing, and social etiquette. For young people who had already finished their formal education, *Young People's Weekly* offered instruction in how to succeed in the business world. Thus, this low-cost religious weekly extended the work, not only of the Sunday school, but also of the weekday classroom as well.

Notes

[1] "*Young People's Weekly* Announcement for 1892," 5 (6 Dec. 1891), 8. Archives, David C. Cook Publishing Company, Elgin, Illinois. All future references to *Young People's Weekly* will be abbreviated YPW.

[2] Circulation figures were published annually in *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son), 1901 being YPW's peak year. According to

Frank Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1957), 6, 7, 16, 17, 274, there were only thirty periodicals with circulations of 100,000 or more between 1865 and 1885. By 1885, twenty-one periodicals had 100,000 or more subscribers; by 1880, 39; by 1895, 68; by 1900, 85. *Youth's Companion* was an outstanding success with circulations reaching 385,000 in 1885 and 500,000 by 1895.

[3] "YPW, an Established Success," YPW, 7 (7 January 1894), 8; "YPW, the Model Paper," YPW, 10(5 January 1986), 8. Cook's competitors charged three times as much, e.g. *Frank Leslie's Boy's and Girl's Weekly*, $2.00 a year; *Youth's Companion*, $1.75 a year. See Mott, *American Magazines, 1850-1865*, 268.

[4] Before the turn of the century, letters to the editor were signed by small children, teens, and adults. By the 1930s, however, only letters by teens and young adults were printed in weekly columns.

[5] *Children's Periodicals of the United States*, R. Gordon Kelly, ed. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1984). In his informative preface, Kelly surveys articles, books, and dissertations that analyze children's periodicals. He concludes that there is "disappointingly little scholarship on American children's periodicals" and that most of it is devoted to a handful of magazines, all of which are secular. For an insightful analysis of the leading children's secular periodicals, see R. Gordon Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady: Self and Society in Selected American Children's Periodicals, 1865-1890* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1974).

[6] Charles B. Eavey, *History of Christian Education* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1964), 234, 235, 246, 257, 258; Robert W. Lynn & Eliott Wright, *The Big Little School: 200 Years of the Sunday School* (Birmingham, Alabama: Religious Education Press, 1980), 57.

[7] *Memoirs: David C. Cook, The Friend of the Sunday School* (Elgin, Illinois: David C. Cook Publishing Company, n.d.) 19, 20, 27, 31, 54.

[8] Ibid., 56, 57.

[9] "Not a Mutual Admiration Society," YPW, 7(20 August 1893), 4.

[10] Allan C. Ornstein and David Levine, *An Introduction to the Foundations of Education*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1981), 184.

[11] YPW reported that I.A.H. Circle had grown to 24,698 members by December 14, 1885, since its founding in October, 1895. "Question Drawer," YPW, 10 (26 January 1896), 7. The Circle continued to be advertised throughout the 1920s with an editorial note that it was being continued by David C. Cook's son. See, for example, "The I.A.H. Circle," YPW, 43 (23 March 1929), 7.

[12] "Seek the Best," YPW, 4 (27 July 1890), 4; "When Doing a Favor," YPW, 24 (24 December 1910), 6; "In Service We Find the Joy of Living," YPW, 33 (25 October 1919), 5.

[13] For representative adventure stories, see Helen Huntington's "That Priceless Something," YPW, 40 (8 May 1926), 5; M. Burkeholder, "Secret Service,"

YPW, 38 (2 August 1924), 5.

[14] Fiction continued to dominate YPW in its new format. YPW, 45 (20 June 1931), included Margaret E. Sangster's "The Happiness Peddler," Nelia Gardner White's "Life's Answer," R. Farrington Elwell's "The Fancy Roper of the Bar-X Ranch," and Harry Harrison Kroll's "The Advice Specialist." Grace Sloan Overton, "Does Beauty Thrill You?" is one of the few nonfiction pieces.

[15] David C. Cook III, interview, 2 November 1987. Because of publication schedules, David C. Cook II's name remained in YPW for several months after his death.

[16] YPW, 60 (29 December 1946).

[17] Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 245.

[18] "How Do You Like the Weekly as a Sixteen Page Magazine?" YPW, 45 (20 June 1931), 6.

[19] See, for example, Leander S. Keyser, "March Wrens," YPW, 7 (14 May 1893); "The First Steamboat," and "The Growth of the Telephone," YPW, 6 (14 February 1892), 8; "Photography in Color," 7 (22 October 1893); columns devoted to science, "In the Great Outdoors," and "Science and Activities," appeared in the 1920s.

[20] An "Eminent Cities of the World" series appeared in the late 1890's; "YPW: Great Improvements," YPW, 11 (26 December 1897), 2; Adelaide Marchant, "Chica and the Chinese," YPW (26 February 1893), 8; Genevieve Faville Topping, "A Bicycle Ride in Tokyo," YPW, 10 (10 May 1896), 5; "Franklin's Love of Books," YPW, 6 (28 February 1892), 8; "Dr. Nanson's Expedition," YPW, 7 (29 January 1893), 5; Edward A. Rand, "The Activity of Young Washington," YPW, 4 (23 February 1890); Thomas Sweet, "America's Most Loved Writer of Ballads," 60 (14 July 1946), 7; John Habberton, "The Ideal Citizen," YPW, 4 (26 January 1890), 2; "The True American," YPW, 15 (8 May 1926), 5; Grace Sloan Overton, "The Power of American Youth in Politics," 48 (3 March 1934), 2; Tracy D. Mygatt, "SOS for American Democracy," 60 (7 July 1946), 8, 9.

[21]

Articles analyzed	*Grade Level*
Belle Kellogg Towne, "Thomas G. Brayton, Jr," YPW, 9 (6 January 1895)	7.0
H. Harper, "A Bunch of Roses," 4 (8 April 1900)	7.3
Frederick E. Burnham, "How Duncan Squared Accounts," 35 (15 October 1921)	6.7
Mabel McKee, "Allhallow Eve," 52 (30 October 1938)	6.8
Margaret Sangster, "The Law," 60 (7 July 1946)	8.1

Today lead articles in *Sunday Digest* are written at 6.5 grade level. Other articles are edited at around 7.0 grade level. Interview, Janette Pearson, editor, November 2, 1987.

[22] "YPW's Announcement for 1892," YPW, 5 (6 December 1891), 8; the novel was serialized in the 1948 issues.

[23] Quoted in Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady*, 110.

[24] Mary A.P. Stansbury, "From Susie Wayne's Journal," YPW, 3 (24 March 1889), 1.

[25] See, for example, Aldis Dunbar's "Sandy Reyburn's Road," 17 (3 January 1903), 1, 2; Etta Webb's three-part story, "Barbara's Spruce Grove," 35 (1, 8, 15 October 1921); Mabel McKee, "Allhallow Eve," 52 (30 October 1938), 1, 2, 12.

[26] Belle Kellogg Towne, "Which Was the Thief?" YPW, 5 (26 July 1891), 3.

[27] Sally Simmons, "Across the Street," 60 (7 July 1946), 2-3.

[28] Mary A.P. Stansbury, "Daisy's Knight," 4 (26 January 1890), 3; Norman V. Carlisle, "Thin Air," 53 (26 March 1939), 8, 9, 16.

[29] For an interesting discussion of sensational fiction, see Kelly, *Mother Was a Lady*, 27-31. Mrs. M.E.C. Bates, "Through Fire and Flame," 10 (5 January 1896), 1-2. In Augustus St. Cyr's "Buried Alive," a brother helped his young sister survive a sand storm that completely covered their home, YPW, 10 (5 January 1896), 3. In Isabel Graham Bush's "The Nickerson Shack," a young boy almost lost his life in a storm, YPW, 24 (8 January 1910). A young man saved a drowning child and later a starving family in Henry Carleton's "The Greater Hero," YPW, 40 (8 May 1926). A young woman risked her life to save the people in a wrecked airplane in F.N. Litten's "Night Landing at Rockvale," YPW, 50 (8 November 1936), 1, 2, 10, 11.

[30] Elizabeth P. Allan, "A Little Child Set in the Midst," YPW, 4 (2 March 1890), 6; Maud Rittenhouse, "Ward's Talent," YPW 5 (26 April 1891), 3; "A Sister's Influence," 5 (11 October 1891), 3.

[31] "YPW, The Organ of Thousands of Sunday-Schools Throughout the Land," 8 (7 January 1984), 8.

[32] Oliver Wendell Holmes, "The Hero of the Plow," YPW, 4 (8 June 1890), 8; Whittier, "A Prayer," YPW, 7 (7 May 1893), 5; Frances Havergral, "Compensation," YPW, 4 (17 August 1890), 8.

[33] "$1,000 for Ms. Life of Christ," YPW, 8 (13 May 1894), 8; "YPW, 'The Model Paper,'" YPW, 10 (5 January 1896), 8; "Announcement of Awards — Twenty-Four Cash Prizes," YPW, 16 (8 March 1902), 8; "The Young People's Weekly — Prizes each month," YPW, 23 (25 December 1909), 2; "What Would You Do Contest," YPW 45 (10 October 1931), 15; "A Continuing Writing Contest," YPW, 62 (20 June 1948), 1.

[34] Julia M. Dewey, "How To Teach Manners in the School Room," in *Victorian Women: A Documentary Account of Women's Lives in Nineteenth-Century England, France, and the United States*, ed. Erna Hellerstein, et al. (Stanford University Press, 1981).

[35] "To the Lady Travelers," YPW, 5 (5 April 1891); "Neatness in Girls," YPW, 5 (26 April 1891); "Leander S. Keyser, "Be Courteous in Public

Places," YPW, 7 (20 August 1893), 2; "If You Want to Become a Bore," 48 (3 March 1934), 6.

[36] *Memoirs of David C. Cook*, 84 ff.

[37] "The Successful Man of To-Day," YPW, 4 (25 May 1890), 4; "Map Out Your Course, Young Man," YPW, 4 (6 July 1890), 8; "Spend Your Evenings Aright," YPW, 5 (30 August 1891), 4; "What One Boy Did," YPW, 16 (8 March 1902), 8; "The Good Time That Kills," YPW, 24 (24 December 1910), 11; "Alice L. Griggs, "Wherever It May Be Needed," 30 (23 December 1916), 8; "Success in Life," YPW, 34 (10 July 1920), 7; Gail Courtney Rittgers, "Independent Independence," YPW, 50 (8 November 1936), 7, etc.

[38] "Worth a Dozen Men," YPW, 4 (8 June 1890), 8; "Preserve-Making a Business," YPW, 4 (6 July 1890), 8; "Stenographers and Typewriters," YPW, 4 (27 July 1890), 6; "Business Openings for Girls and Young Women," YPW, 4 (7 November 1890), 6; "Nothing Less Than the Best," YPW, 17 (14 February 1903), 4; Mark Lane, "Ambitious Girls," YPW, 4 September 14 1890), 8; Gail Courtney Rittgers, "Flash in the Pan," 51 (17 January 1937), 16.

[39] "Cash Premiums," YPW, 11 (3 January 1897), 7.

[40] Mott, *American Magazines, 1886-1905*, 17, 18. E.g., circulation figures in "Circulation," YPW, 10 (16 February 1896). Circulation figures were printed annually in the directory, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son). By 1948, the name of the directory had changed to *Ayer Directory of Publications* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son).

[41] "Religious Newspapers," *Printers' Ink*, 6 (13 January 1892), 55.

Part V

PROGRAM AND PROCEEDINGS

**Midwest History
of Education
Society**

Annual Meeting
November 6-7, 1987

---

*Sponsored Jointly
with the*

**American
Educational
Studies
Association**

November 4-8, 1987

Americana Congress Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Thursday, November 5

Special Sessions **8:00-9:30 a.m.**

Inquiry into Historical Methods — Victorian Room

Chair: Jeffrey Mirel (Northern Illinois University)

David Angus (University of Michigan)
"The Katz-Vinovskis Debate: What It Tells Us About Quantitative Methods"

Barbara Finkelstein (University of Maryland)
"Crafting Face-To-Face Relationships in the History of Education"

Alan Wieder (University of South Carolina)
"Possibilities and Problems in the Oral History of Education"

10:00-11:30 a.m.

Communities and Curricula — Victorian Room

Chair: Alan Wieder (University of South Carolina)

Milam Rowold (University of Texas-Austin)
"Rural Schools Revisited, Texas 1900-1930"

O.L. Davis, Jr. (University of Texas-Austin)
"The Historical Effects of Textbooks on the Quality of Teaching"

Diann Musical (Northern Illinois University) and
Robert Lang (Northern Illinois University)
"An Analysis of Secular Humanism: A Temple of Fifty Textbooks?"

Friday, November 6

8:00-9:30 a.m.

History from the Inside: Curriculum, Teachers, and Students — Music Room

Chair: Jeffrey Mirel (Northern Illinois University)

Michael James (California State University, Los Angeles)
"Radical Politics: Teaching the Social Studies, 1918-1941"

Richard Altenbaugh (Northern Illinois University)
"The Historical Plight of the Urban School Teacher: A Case Study Analysis of Pittsburgh and Chicago Teachers in the Twentieth Century"

Don T. Martin (University of Pittsburgh) and
William E. Bickel (University of Pittsburgh)
"The Educational Experience of Immigrant and Non-Immigrant Students in the Pittsburgh Public Schools"

8:00-9:30 a.m.

The Education Professionals — Victorian Room

Chair: David Angus (University of Michigan)

Bonnie S. Handler (Central Connecticut State University) and
Heidi Handler (University of Chicago)
"The Origins of Professional Education: The Case of the Litchfield Law School, 1784-1833"

Sr. Maria Scatena (Lewis University)
"The Evolution of Teacher Training Within the Congregation of the Sisters of Providence, 1857-1890"

Charles Kniker (Iowa State University)
"Assessing the Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes of Students in Teacher Education Programs in Iowa, 1878-1887, 1978-1987"

10:00-11:30 a.m.

The History of Early Progressive Educational Reform — Music Room

Chair: F. Michael Perko, S.J. (Loyola University of Chicago)

Ronald E. Rutkowski (Loyola University of Chicago)
"A Note Concerning Lester Frank Ward and Progressive Education"

David Berry (University of Michigan)
"U.S. Herbartianism at the State and Local Level: A Study of Three Large Cities and Their Corresponding States, 1895-1905"

Rick Ginsberg (University of South Carolina)
"Attempting School Reform in Turn of the Century Chicago: The Harper Report"

10:00-11:30 a.m.

The Media as Educator — Victorian Room

Chair: Richard Altenbaugh (Northern Illinois University)

Lucy F. Townsend (Elgin, Illinois)
"The School in a Newspaper: *Young People's Weekly*, 1887-1949"

James Wallace (Lewis and Clark College)
"Red Teachers Can't Save Us!: Radical Educators and Liberal Journalists in the 1930s"

John Geiger (University of Dayton) and
Joseph Watras (University of Dayton)
"Dayton Newspapers and the Desegregation of the Public Schools in Dayton, Ohio, 1972-1976"

2:30-4:00 p.m.

Perspectives on the History of Southern Higher Education — Music Room

Chair: James C. Carper (U.S. Department of Education)

Robert J. Taggart (University of Delaware)
"Why Did Delaware's Women's Colleges Die While Other Coordinate Colleges Survived?"

Amy Thompson McCandless (College of Charleston)
"Maintaining the Spirit and Tone of Robust Manliness: The Fight Against Co-Education in Southern Colleges and Universities, 1900-1945"

Wayne J. Urban (Georgia State University)
"The Rise and Fall of a College President: Horace Mann Bond and the Lincoln University, 1945-1957"

2:30-4:00 p.m.

Research in the History of Higher Education — Victorian Room

Chair: Timothy Leonard (Xavier University of Chicago)

Frank Court (Northern Illinois University)
"Strange Victorian Bedfellows — The Utilitarians and the First Chair of English Literature in England"

Richard A. Yanikoski (DePaul University)
"Harvard's Early Experiment with Electives, 1820-1850"

William Brozo (Northern Illinois University),
Cynthia R. Hynd (University of Georgia), and
Norman A. Stahl (Northern Illinois University)
"Charting Literacy Trends in College Reading: An Historical Analysis of Doctoral Dissertations"

4:00-5:00 p.m.

Annual Business Meeting — Grant Park Room

L. Glenn Smith (Northern Illinois University)

Saturday, November 7

8:00-9:30 a.m.

Historical Research in Politics and Policy — Music Room

Chair: Judith Sealander (Wright State University)

Alex Makedon (Evanston, Illinois)
"Campus Politics in Historical Perspective"

Joseph Preville (Yale Divinity School)
"Catholic Colleges, the Courts, and the Constitution: A Tale of Two Cases"

Chris Eisele (Illinois State University)
"Are There Policy Implications in the Writing of Educational Historians?"

10:00-11:30 a.m.

Foundations, Business Interests, and American Education in the Progressive Era — Music Room

Chair: L. Glenn Smith (Northern Illinois University)

Amy D. Rose (Northern Illinois University)
"The Anti-Professional Profession: Adult Education in the 1920s"

Judith Sealander (Wright State University)
"Antioch College and Progressive Education in the 1920s"

Colleen A. Moore (Eastern Illinois University)
"The National Association of Corporate Schools: An Early History of the American Management Association, 1913-1923"

10:00-11:30 a.m.

Historical Inquiry in Language and Literacy — Victorian Room

Chair: Joan Smith (Loyola University of Chicago)

Gerald T. Burns (Wesleyan University)
"An Idea Ahead of Its Time: Benjamin Franklin's English School and the Study of English in America"

Florence S. Estes (University of Kentucky)
"The Americanization of White Appalachia: A Contextual Reading of Illiteracy in Progressive Era Kentucky, 1900-1920"

Timothy Reagan (Central Connecticut State University)
"The Oral-Manual Debate in Deaf Education: Language Policies in Conflict"

11:30 a.m.

Adjournment

Minutes

Twenty-Third Annual Meeting
Midwest History of Education Society
Grant Park Room of the Americana Congress Hotel
November 16, 1987

Much to the chagrin of the assembly, President Glenn Smith declined to give a presidential address. Dr. Gutek moved to approve the minutes of the 1986 meeting. Dr. Perko seconded the motion, which passed unanimously. Dr. Rutkowski, treasurer and editor of the journal reported a balance of $1800.52 on hand. There was a unanimously passed resolution of thanks to Rutkowski for keeping the society in the black.

Dr. Mirel was elected president for the next year. Dr. Leonard was elected vice president, and Dr. Reagan was elected secretary. The elections were unanimous.

Next year's meeting was set for the 28th and 29th of October unless those dates conflict with the A.E.S.A. meeting.

Dr. Eisele reported that the Council of Learned Societies in Education wants a seat on the Board of Directors of N.C.A.T.E. that will represent the interests of the Foundations of Education. The Society of Professors of Education met and pledged $1600.00. It was moved by Dr. Nelson and Seconded by Dr. Joan Smith that the society charge an extra $5.00 for all registrants at the next meeting, and contribute that money plus $50.00 from the treasury for each of the next three years to help raise the money necessary ($16,000) to gain representation on the NCATE Board. The motion passed unanimously. During the discussion of this motion members asked what the precise benefit of a representative would be, and there was a strong sense that the whole field of foundations might be endangered without such representation. Yet the membership was reluctant to take a large bite out of the society's treasury, since it had been carefully built up over some fifteen years and ought to be shepherded with care.

The possibility of joining with the AESA meetings more frequently was then discussed. Several objections to this were raised. First, it seems the society has been identified with Chicago since its inception, and since Chicago is the major midwestern city it does not seem imperative to change that identification. In other words, the meetings ought to take place in Chicago. Second, it was argued that at most the society should meet with a larger organization once every three years. This seems to be central to the identity of the Midwest History of Education Society. Otherwise it would — or could readily — be swallowed up by the larger groups. The discussion was not entirely conclusive, but it was decided that next year's meeting will be held at Loyola and will not be held jointly with the meeting of any other group.

The meeting was amicably adjourned.

Respectfully submitted:
Timothy Leonard, Secretary